Recurrent Exodus of Minorities from East Pakistan and Disturbances in India

A Report

to

THE INDIAN COMMISSION OF JURISTS

by its

Committee of Enquiry

THE INDIAN COMMISSION OF JURISTS, NEW DELHI

1965

The Indian Commission of Jurists is a non-governmental organization of lawyers in India. The Commission seeks to foster understanding of and respect for the Rule of Law.

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PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS
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Indian Commission of Jurists.

To

The President,
Indian Commission of Jurists,
New Delhi.

Sir,

The Indian Commission of Jurists took note of the situation arising out of the recurrent migrations of non-Muslims from East Pakistan with a view to consider if an enquiry by the Commission was called for or was necessary.

We were entrusted with the task of making a preliminary survey and report to the Commission.

For this purpose, we visited, in West Bengal, the centres where the refugees were crossing over into India in large numbers. We visited Hasanabad and Petrapol.

In Hasanabad the refugees were walking across the frontier with little excepting the clothes they were wearing. Some of them had been on the journey for a number of days before they could cross over. We questioned many of them and they recounted to us the reasons for their leaving East Pakistan and the hardships they had undergone on the way. At this centre about 2,000 persons were crossing over every day. Many of them, including children, had raw and gaping wounds on their persons. At Petrapol, most of the refugees were coming over by train, many with migration certificates. We questioned them also.

We also visited the Howrah Station where refugees were brought from different receiving centres to be sent along to the various camps. Here also, we questioned the bedraggled specimen of humanity with little on them excepting their clothes. Many of these had injuries similar to the ones we saw in Hasanabad.

Thereafter, we reported to the Commission. After giving a careful consideration, the Executive Council of the Commission decided to institute a Committee of enquiry consisting of the following :—

The Indian Commission of Jurists was of the opinion that our enquiry should also include the disturbances which took place in India in early 1964. The terms of reference were as follows :—

"To enquire into the causes of the recurrent large-scale migrations into India from East Pakistan of Pakistani Citizens of Hindu, Christian and Buddhist persuasion, to report whether and to what extent and in what manner such migrations are occasioned by violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and by the practice of genocide as defined in Article II of the Genocide Convention of 1948.

And

To enquire into the causes of the communal disturbances which occurred in West Bengal, Jamshedpur, Rourkela and Raigadh and report whether they were occasioned by violation of human rights and by the practice of genocide."

We have borne in mind that the enquiry into the violation of Human Rights must necessarily be confined to the question of governmental responsibility in either denying or violating Human Rights directly or indirectly by standing by while the rights of its citizens are being violated.

Similarly the responsibility for the practice of Genocide can also be attributed to state action or its failure to act while acts that amount to Genocide are being perpetrated.

After our appointment, we visited various camps in Tripura and in Assam and questioned the refugees in these camps. Among the places visited was, Karimgunj where there was a receiving centre for people coming across the river which separates India from Pakistan.

We also drew up a Questionnaire and made arrangements to send out teams of workers to various places where the camps were situated. These workers were instructed by us to take down statements of the refugees and also to cross-examine them whenever they considered it necessary.

We had instructed the workers to concentrate on recording the statements of refugees who had come over in the early months of 1964, but also to record the statements of refugees who had come over later, though on a smaller scale. We were able to collect statements of about 12,000 heads of families, which would represent about 50,000 persons.

On July 29, 1964, the Chairman addressed a letter to H.E. Field Marshal M. Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, informing him about the institution of the Committee of enquiry and requesting him that we may be permitted to visit East Pakistan in connection with the enquiry. The Chairman also wrote that we would welcome it, if the Pakistan Government would place before us such documents or evidence as it thought fit. We regret to say we received neither an acknowledgement nor a reply. Full text of the letter is "annexed" hereto.

We visited Calcutta and some other parts of West Bengal on two occasions and one of us also visited Jamshedpur, Rourkela and surrounding areas, where he questioned quite a number of persons.

We carefully examined the evidence collected by us or our workers from the various refugee camps and also whatever materialavailable from Pakistan press and radio and other sources. Since the enquiry was not confined to the exodus from East Pakistan which began in January 1964 but was extended to the causes of the re-current migrations, we examined historical material also. We are forwarding herewith our report.

We have divided the report in five parts.

Part I deals with the period from 1947 to 1963.

Part II deals with the causes of 1964 migrations from East Pakistan and particularly, the immediate cause, the Hazrat Bal incident.

In Part III we have examined the evidence of migrants from various districts of East Pakistan.

Part IV deals with the disturbances in India.

Part V are our conclusions.

There are also five appendices, which will be found at the end of the report.

Yours faithfully,
Purshottam Trikamdas
Chairman.

Dated at New Delhi

January, 20th 1965.

I.N Shroff
Member.

Indian Commission of Jurists

To

July 29, 1964.

H. E. Field-Marshal Mohmad Ayub Khan,
President of Pakistan,
RAWALPINDI.

Your Excellency,

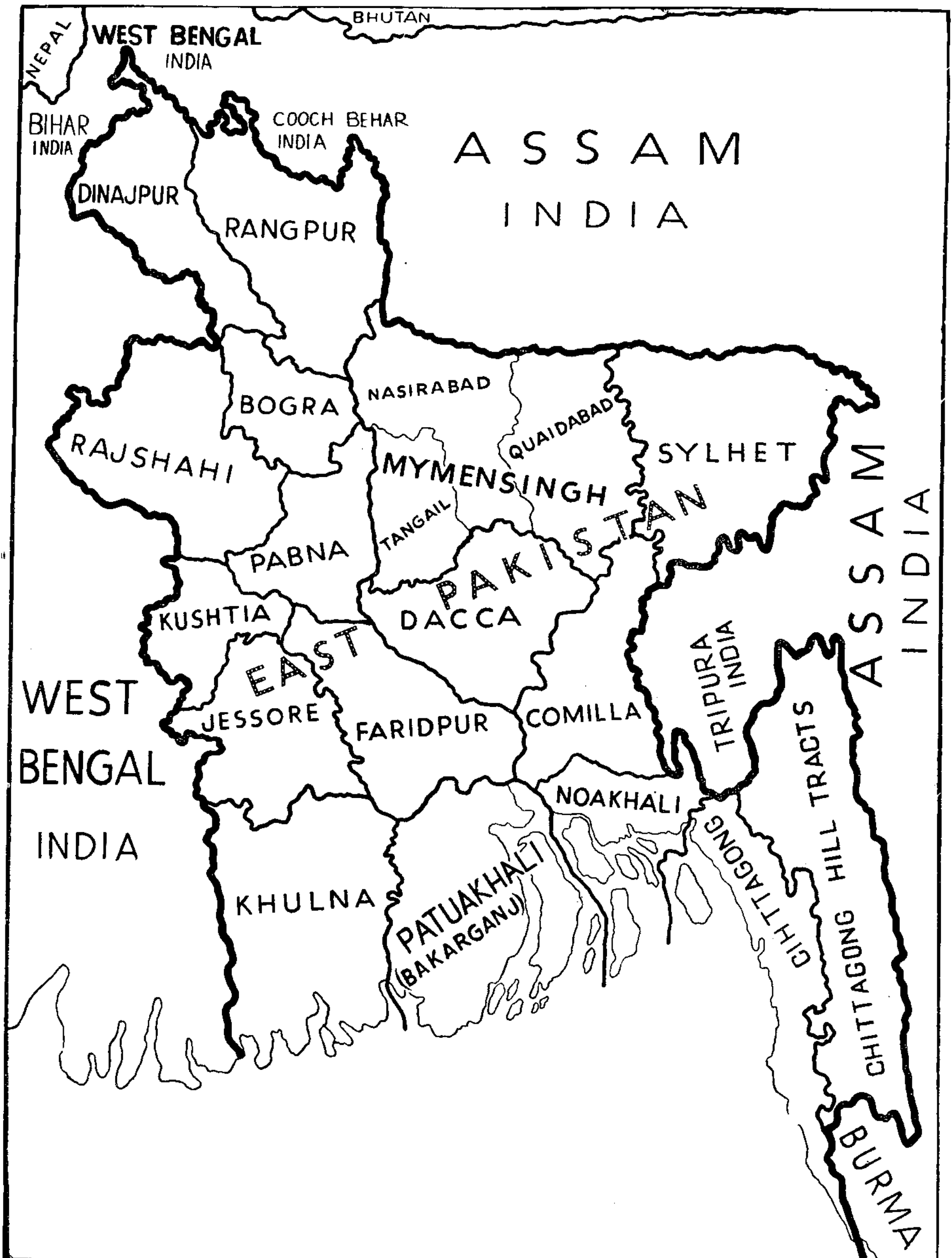
The Indian Commission of Jurists, which is a non-governmental organisation of lawyers in India, has decided to hold an investigation into the reasons for the recurrent exodus of minorities from East Pakistan into India.

In this connection, the Indian Commission would welcome from Your Excellency's Government any documents or evidence which Your Excellency's Government may choose to put before the Committee constituted by the Indian Commission

As Chairman of the Committee, may I also request that Your Excellency's Government may permit me and my colleagues to visit the affected areas in East Pakistan and to give us the necessary facilities for visiting the areas and conducting the Enquiry.

With assurances of my highest esteem,

Yours faithfully
Purshottam Trikamdas



NEPAL
WEST BENGAL
INDIA
BHUTAN
BIHAR
INDIA
COOCH BEHAR
INDIA
ASSAM
INDIA
DINAJPUR
RANGPUR
BOGRA
NASIRABAD
QUAIDABAD
SYLHET
RAJSHAHI
MYMENSINGH
TANGAIL
PABNA
PAKISTAN
DACCA
KUSHTIA
EAST
ASSAM
INDIA
TRIPURA
INDIA
WEST
BENGAL
INDIA
JESSORE
FARIDPUR
COMILLA
NOAKHALI
KHULNA
PATUAKHALI
(BAKARGANJ)
CHITTAGONG
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS
CHITTAGONG
BURMA

PART I

1947—1963

The recent large scale exodus of minority communities which include not only Hindus but Christians and Buddhists from East Pakistan, cannot be looked at in isolation.

Since we have to examine the causes of the recurrent migrations of non-Muslims from East Pakistan, we shall have to go back to the year 1946, even before the actual partition on August 15, 1947.

In 1946 there was a Government in Undivided Bengal formed by the Muslim League Party. The Muslim League policy and programme were largely based on suspicion of the Hindus. Following the directions of the Muslim League, Mr. Suhrawardy the Premier of Bengal declared a public holiday on—"Direct Action Day", August 16, 1946, in Bengal, for the achievemet of Pakistan. No body knew in what form it was going to be observed. According to the usual methods of Political agitation current in India, this would have meant holding of mass meetings and processions. However, from early morning of August 16, attacks on Hindus by organised and well armed gangs of Muslims, led by Muslim League volunteers, began and went on unabated for 4 or 5 days. The Premier, it is well-known, was sitting in the control room of the main police station where reports were conveyed to him from moment to moment by the police. The police, however, had been completely immobilised under his direct orders not to interfere. This resulted in what came to be known as the Great Calcutta Killing, in which thousands of Hindus were massacred and Muslim league volunteers who carried plenty of petrol set fire to Hindu houses.

Although, nothing much happened in the rest of Bengal, Noakhali was also affected soon after and massacres of Hindus took place there.

This created a wave of horror in India. Mr. Jinnah while saying that he condemned the acts of violence, said that he did not know who was responsible and suggested that it may be due to agents provocateurs. This created among the Hindus of undivided Bengal a feeling of insecurity of living under a Government dominated by Muslim League Policies.

We have mentioned this because the same pattern of atrocities on Hindus was followed in 1950 and in the present disturbances which began on January 3, 1964 with which we are primarily concerned.

The Muslim League's demand for partition, which included exchange of populations, was well-known. Although neither of these demands had been conceded at the time, it was believed that if Bengal was partitioned it would follow more or less a pattern of the earlier partition of 1905 and the areas in which Muslims were in a majority would become part of Pakistan. This brought about an exodus of non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, from the Eastern part of Bengal to the Western side. By the end of 1947, about 4,25,000 Hindus had migrated from the area which is now East Pakistan to West Bengal.

When partition actually became a fact, the demand for the exchange of population was accepted neither by the British Government nor by the Indian National Congress.

So far as the Western wing of Pakistan is concerned, large scale massacres of Hindus and Sikhs began months before the decision for Partition came and, when Partition actually was announced, the massacres were intensified. As a result, hardly any Sikh or Hindu remained in West Pakistan. There were counter massacres in the Eastern part of Punjab as a result of which large numbers of Muslims migrated to West Pakistan. The number of those killed and uprooted on both sides could be counted in thousands and millions. Any way, so far as West Pakistan is concerned, it had been practically cleared of Hindus and Sikhs.

In what is now East Pakistan, there were about 13 million non-muslims and it was not easy to eliminate them in this way. Even apart from this, when massacre of Hindus took place in Noakhali, Mahatma Gandhi went there in November 1946 and used his great prestige and powers of persuasion to restore peace and amity. It was largely due to this that East Pakistan region was free from massacres on any considerable scale of minorities thereafter and after Partition.

The migration, which took place in 1946-47 was, as earlier stated, a result of the Calcutta killing. The migrations again were largely confined to Zamindars (large land owners) professionals, white—collared persons and others whose children needed education and employment. However, large majority of Hindus were tillers of the soil with their small or large plots of land, and small traders. Even after the pre-Partition migration, which amounted to about 4¼ hundred thousand, coming to the present West Bengal, and going to Assam and to the State of Tripura, about 13 million non-Muslims still remained in Eastern Pakistan.

The very *raison d'etre* of Pakistan was to create separate homeland of Muslims. However, Mr. Jinnah on the formation of Pakistan stated :

> "We are starting with these fundamental principles that we are all equal citizens of one State. We shall keep this in front of us as our ideal and we will find that in the course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and the Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as the citizen of the Nation."

There is no reason to doubt Mr. Jinnah's sincerity. The logic of the reasons for the formation of Pakistan, a homeland for the Muslims, went contrary to Mr. Jinnah's wish and desire and this admirable ideal was soon forgotten and an Islamic State was substituted.

An Islamic State would be a State largely governed by the basic principles of Islam. Islam means peace and Islamic principles do not prevent non-Muslims from residing and getting full protection from the Government of such a State. There are number of Islamic States in the World in which a considerable number of the population are non-Muslim. U.A.R. with its large Christian minority is one example. Afghanistan, where there is sizeable population of Hindus, is another. Similarly, there are other States in which there are non-Muslim minorities living under Muslim Governments. In all these States the non-Muslims, who are citizens, are not discriminated against. In none of these one hears of a deliberate policy calculated to drive the non-Muslim citizens out of the country. Nor do we hear of any periodical massacres to achieve that end.

Persecution on religious grounds is not unknown to history. Hitler in recent times did this partly on religious and partly on racial grounds and the whole civilized World has condemned him as a monster. In this report it is our unfortunate duty to deal with and enquire into the allegations that in East Pakistan, the oppression of non-Muslims is a regular feature and periodical massacres to frighten the minorities into leaving the country are also a fact.

Soon thereafter, Pakistan, though composed of different religious groups, identified itself only with the aspirations of the Muslims. It is alleged that right from the beginning discrimination against the non-Muslims became the rule. The Muslim League government in East Pakistan let loose a reign of terror on Hindus. Police and goondas were utilised for this purpose.

So far as East Pakistan is concerned, largely land, industries and business were controlled by the Hindus. Similarly the professional classes like lawyers, doctors, school teachers and civil servants were Hindus. This is because the Hindus were more educated and rich. Muslim land holders were content to live on the income of their properties and had not much interest in industry, business or even profession. Even after the establishment of Pakistan, in Dacca about 59% of the total population was Hindus and about 85% of the properties in the city belonged to Hindus.

After 1950 killings with which we shall presently deal, the Hindu holdings of properties fell to 12.7% and nearly 90% of the Hindu citizens of Dacca had migrated to India. Similar is the case with the student population in Dacca. From about 2,900 Hindu boys in Schools before partition, 2,000 remained before February 1950 killings, and at the end of December 1950 the number was reduced to 140. Similarly there were about 2,100 Hindu girls in Schools before Partition, about 1,200 before the February 1950 incident. Of these only 25 remained by December 1950. The population of Hindu College students fell from 65% at partition to 7% in January 1950 and at the end of 1950 only 12 remained. Similar is the case with lawyers. There were about 1500 Hindu shops at the time of Partition and at the end of 1950 only 157 remained.

In each of the 45 big and small towns, with the exception of the five smaller ones, Hindu inhabitants were in majority though taking the total population the number of Hindus amounted to 30%.

A large scale requisitioning of Hindu houses and properties took place. The educational institutions were largely manned by Hindus and practically all the Schools were run by Hindus. There was a squeeze of the teachers and professors in order to make room for Muslims. Hindu students were forced to leave the hostels. Thus attempts were made to dislodge the Hindus from their dominant position. This discrimination, unfortunately, went right down the scale to the petty shopkeeper and the small land holder. The result was that even those who had stayed behind with the intention of making East Pakistan their home, because they were born and brought up in that area, began to feel that life would be very difficult for them and the migration continued.

With the exodus of Hindus the vacuum was attempted to be filled up with some of those who had migrated from Bihar, but largely so far as business, professions and teachers were concerned, by persons from West Pakistan. The feeling of hatred for Hindus in East Pakistan was not very pronounced.

But these people from Bihar and from West Pakistan had nothing but venom in their hearts against the Hindus. They took a leading part in spreading this feeling and they also took a prominent part in the disturbances whenever they took place.

On April 19, 1948 the Neogy Ghulam Mohammad Agreement was signed. This was intended to ease the situation of minorities by putting up minority Boards in each country. The periodical meetings between the Chief Ministers or Chief Secretaries of West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal were to be held to look into the working of that agreement.

An agreement similar to the one of April 19, 1948 was also arrived at, after discussions between the officials of the two countries, in December 6-14, 1948. Relevant portions of these agreements are Appendix IA and IB.

While this was implemented in India what happened in Pakistan is described in the memorandum of Congress Legislative Party in East Bengal to the Premier Mr. Nurul Amin in December 1949.

Briefly this memorandum drew attention to indiscriminate requisition of Hindu houses, godowns, shops, educational institutions and other movable properties all over East Pakistan. It pointed out that in Dacca alone 3 thousand Hindu houses had been requisitioned. The licences of Hindus holding fire arms were cancelled and the arms were seized. Large number of houses and lands throughout Pakistan were forcibly occupied by Muslims. Temples were desecrated. Large number of reports of crimes against Hindu women were brought to the notice of the authorities but were ignored. Forced conversions and forced marriages after abduction were also mentioned. Large number of dacoities during which attacks on women had taken place had become a feature of rural life in East Bengal. Muslim mobs on the pretext of keeping an eye over disloyal Non-Muslims, raided Hindu houses. In the rural areas forcible removal of crops, plucking of fruits from trees, cutting of bamboos and catching fish from the tanks belonging to Hindus had become most common. The attitude of government officials and police towards the complaints from Hindus was completely indifferent and some district magistrates openly preached against the Hindus. The minority Boards agreed upon by the Neogi Mohammad Pact were either not brought into existence or were not allowed to function. Local Boards and Municipalities where Hindus held the majority of seats were arbitrarily suspended.

In February 1950, there was a repetition of the pattern of Calcutta killing in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, this was wide-

spread. The atrocities, which began in August 1949, all over East Pakistan, continued almost for a period of 3 months.

These incidents led to a fresh wave of migration and thousands of Hindus poured into West Bengal, Assam and Tripura.

A small incident of a communal nature took place on February 8, 1950 in Calcutta. Prompt action brought the situation to normal within two days.

The Dacca press published unfounded reports of sufferings of Muslims in India. The propaganda was directed against the Hindus who were described as fifth columnists Banner headlines referring to Calcutta announced :

"Orgy of murder arson and loot"
"Inhuman oppression of the peace-loving Muslims"
The Pakistan Radio also took up the cry.

On February 7, 1950 Bengali and Urdu leaflets calling for "revenge of atrocities committed in Calcutta" were distributed all over Dacca and similar incitements were made by announcements through megaphones. The Pakistan Radio and press announced the killing of Ten thousand Muslims in Calcutta.

One newspaper announced the number of Muslims killed in Calcutta as 100 thousand, Similar statements appeared in newspapers in other cities and towns. There was a false rumour spread about the murder in Calcutta of Mr. Fazlul Haque, a prominent leader in East Pakistan. This led to a large scale killing of Hindus in Barisal.

During these disturbances the officials including the police were completely indifferent and the Ansars took an active and leading part in loot, arson and murder. Some high officials were also reported to have made speeches of an inflammatory nature.

The news of these happenings was however completely blacked out in Pakistan.

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, prominent minority leader of East Pakistan speaking in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on March 16, 1950 said at page 58 :

"Sir, so far as we on this side of the House are concerned, we meet under the shadow of a great calamity that threatens our very existence as a community. Reports may be exaggerated, reports may be minimised. Killings may be put in four figures but accepted in three. Women's honour may have suffered in many more cases than the world will ever come to know. There will always be differing versions of the extent of the loss of property. But the fact cannot be controverted that the sudden flare-

up in East Bengal since February 10 last has left the vast numbers we represent stunned and dazed, utterly shaken and nervous and psychologically uprooted.

The sudden and violent outbreak of the recent lawlessness spread over a large area both urban and rural which seemingly organised plan behind it directed solely against the helpless minority without the least provocation has created a deep feeling of insecurity in the minority community......

The ground was for sometime being prepared for such outbursts.

The Azad of Dacca published on 30th January with the headline 'massacre of Muslims in West Bengal' a letter in which another letter was referred to with the news that a well planned and well organised massacre of Muslims was being carried on there......that Muslim girls in certain Schools in Calcutta being compelled to recite the Geeta. Such news and more serious comments continued to appear for days on end. On February 8, the Azad of Chittagong wrote :

"Muslims in India are being driven out of their home lands......"

On the 9th it wrote :

"Real enemies of Pakistan are Hindus"

Next day it came out with editorial comments like these :

"Hindus are not reliable. They can kill their mothers and fathers. Whenever opportunity will offer itself, they will throttle the Muslims to death. Pakistani Muslims ! Keep watch over every Hindu house".

The radio and the platform were no less active in this one direction. But there seems to be no responsible authority existing to control these agencies of propaganda.

It is not wise to leave the trouble spot as it is and allow sabre-rattling and preaching of hatred and contempt; No wonder such an appalling tragedy has befallen the minority in East Bengal.

......We could not give you names of all those killed in Dacca and elsewhere and in the railway trains. But we could read out lists of hundreds of those killed in the towns and villages of Barisal and Chittagong as well as names of villages where thousands had lost their all in arson and loot......

The raid on the house of the leader of the opposition is very much more significant. And one in the raiding party, when he was pointed out the house, asked "Huqm mila" ? (is that the order) "Yes" was the reply.

There are other remarkable features about these occurrences but I delete those portions.

It was sought in those portions to prove that these attacks were premeditated, pre-planned and in most of these cases Government employees themselves were involved.

But the recent happenings have given a rude shock to the sense of security of the minority community. Whatever the sources of inspiration, the minorities see that it is people belonging to the overwhelming majority that attacked them without the remotest provocation on their part......and people cannot live every moment fearing what the next may bring".

Maulavi Ibrahim Khan (East Bengal : Muslim) in his speech on March 17, 1950, in the same debate says the following :—

"Sir, I shall try to give an unvarnished account of something of what happened. That there was loss of a number of Hindu lives is unfortunately a fact. That there was loss of Hindu property is equally unfortunately true. That on this occasion at least there was no provocation from the Hindus of the Dacca City to the Mussalmans is also not without foundation. My heart bleeds and goes out in sympathy to the suffering brethren of my sister community and I feel deeply ashamed for all that happened......

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who visited East Pakistan in March 1950, was presented a long memorandum signed by leading Hindu members of the East Bengal Assembly (Appendix II) setting out the plight of Hindus in East Pakistan. In this memorandum among other things they stated :

"Here in this province took place only one sided diabolical killing and persecution of Hindus by Muslims.

The way in which occurrences took shape with unmistakable political manipulation and bearings and the manner in which the administrative authorities handled the situation, have naturally given rise to an almost irremovable apprehension in the minds of most miserably plighted minorities in general, that something equally or more terrible may happen every moment. Their sense of security thus stands completely shattered. They see no ray of hope as to the protection of their life, honour, religion and property.

We feel that this tragic state of things is but a culmination and cumulative effect of gradually but steadily generating forces of lawlessness and communalism in this province which in our opinion finds every nourishment from the existing non-secular political set up and preaching."

They also referred to the memorandum they had submitted to the East Bengal Premier and to the fact of persistent and reckless anti-Hindu propaganda of the local press and the rabid communal preaching by many Muslims including some leaders of the Muslim League.

After setting out the atrocities against the Hindus in various parts of East Bengal they said :

"All outward indications and the manner in which the atrocities have been committed (having regard to almost uniformly timed and followed methods of execution) lead to the irresistible conclusion that the whole troubles took place and were allowed to take place according to a preconceived plan.

Politically judged, all the present maladies in our opinion, are traceable to the theocratic (Islamic) concept of the State, in which an idea of discriminating between different elements of the state on religious basis is inherent. Such an outlook has already been engendered in the minds of the general people (whether administrative personnel or not)......resulting in treating the minorities as mere Jimmies* with all its obnoxious implications and humiliations."

A further account of what happened in the 1950 atrocities is given by Mr. J.N. Mandal, a leader of the Scheduled Caste, who had accepted the Cabinet appointment as Minister of Law and Labour in the Government of Pakistan and, while he was still holding that post, fled from Pakistan in September 1951. In early October 1951 he sent his letter of resignation to the Pakistan Prime Minister. He describes in detail the reasons for his resignation and for leaving Pakistan. He had previously been appointed in the quota of Muslim League as a Minister in the interim Government of undivided India on November 1, 1946. In this letter in paragraph 9 he complained about the general anti-Hindu policy of the East Bengal Government and the Police administration.

* Jimmi or Zimmi or Dhimmi :
(Webster) Person living in a region overrun by Muslim conquest, who is accorded a protected status and allowed to retain his original faith.

In paragraphs 10 to 16 he goes on to describe various incidents in which Hindus and whole villages of Hindus had been terrorised. He complains that in Habibgunj (Sylhet) where there was a military camp the unfortunate Hindus were forced among other things to send the women at night to the military camps for satisfying the soldiers.

In paragraphs 17 and 18 he enumerates what he considers to be the causes of February disturbances.

He also states in paragraph 19 that the officials during the 1950 atrocities helped and directed the looters.

In paragraph 21, he says that he was in Dacca on February 10 and what he saw and learnt from first hand information was simply staggering and heart-rending. He visited various areas where atrocities on Hindus had been committed and he says that what he saw and from the information gathered by him the number of killed was about 10,000.

In paragraph 26, he says that Government planned to squeeze out Hindus and in paragraphs 28 and 29 he describes the future as dismal for Hindus.

In paragraph 30 he briefly deals with the condition of Hindus in East Bengal.

In paragraph 31 he says the Hindus were virtually outlawed.

In paragraph 33 he characterised Pakistan as "Accursed for Hindus."

Full text of this letter which he released to the press and was published on October 9, 1950 was handed over to us by Mr. J. N. Mandal when we interviewed him in Calcutta. He personally confirmed that what was stated in this letter was true to his own knowledge. The captions in the appendix are as they appeared in the Press and we have retained them for easy reference (Appendix IV).

These events resulted in a further large scale influx of refugees into India.

When the news of the happenings trickled out, Mr. Nehru the Prime Minister of India, suggested that the two Prime Ministers should meet to consider the grave situation arising out of the happenings in East Pakistan and the large scale and continued arrival of refugees in India. Mr. Liaquat Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, brushed the suggestion aside very abruptly. In view of this while the Indian Government was considering what further steps should be taken to stop the recurrent massacres and the recurrent problem of large scale migrants, Mr. Liaquat Ali hastened to agree to

Mr. Nehru's suggestions and an agreement was signed by the two Prime Ministers on April 8, 1950, known as the Nehru Liaquat Pact. The full text of this agreement is appended as (Appendix III.)

Article A of this agreement said that each government "shall ensure to the minorities throughout its territories, complete equality of citizenship. irrespective of religion, full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship." It was agreed that minorities would have equal opportunities to participate in public life, to hold political and other offices and to serve in the armed forces. It was also stated : "It is also the policy of both governments that the enjoyment of the democratic rights shall be assured to all nationals".

Article B which dealt with migrants from each country provides, among other things, the freedom to remove personal effects and household goods including personal jewellery and that the rights of ownership or occupancy of immovable property would not be disturbed. To such migrants who chose to go back by December 31, 1950, the possession of such property would be restored. Those migrants who did not return would still have the ownership rights in their immovable properties and the unrestricted rights to dispose it of by sale or exchange.

It was agreed that this would apply not only to the migrants into India as a result of February 1950 disturbances but also to those who had arrived in India after August,15, 1947. The arrangement was also to apply to the migrants from Bihar who had gone to East Bengal.

Although the Nehru Liaquat Pact was intended to set up a machinery to ease the return of migrants and for setting up minority commission in both the countries by the end of 1950, so far as East Pakistan was concerned the Pact became practically a dead letter.

On the 3rd Anniversary of Pakistan's independence on August 14, 1950, Mr. Liaquat Ali issued a message to the people. This was translated in the local languages and appeared on posters displayed throughout. It was also printed in the shape of hand bills which were distributed in thousands. It reads :

"If we are loyal to the memory of our great Qaid-e-Azam* let us remember the national watchwords he gave us-Unity, Faith and Discipline. Let us so live and act that

* Mr. Jinnah.

hundreds of years hence when history recalls our times it will say : These people lived, struggled and suffered like true sons of Islam so that their children may live in honour and glory."

It will be noted that there is no mention of the minorities who numbered about 12% of the total population and 30% of the East Pakistan.

A Commission to enquire into the causes of East Bengal riot was appointed but no report was ever published.

How the Nehru Liaquat Pact was implemented in East Pakistan could be judged from the following extracts from speeches of minority leaders in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Speaking in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on March 29, 1951, Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutta is reported at page 598, 1951, Vol. I of the Debates in Pakistan Constituent Assembly as follows :

Mr. President, Sir, you are aware that 95% of the tea labourers are Hindus ..... Sir, these Hindu labourers are living in that area (Sylhet) for generations, but attempts are being made so that they may not get rights of citizenship by describing them as floating population.

President : Attempts are being made by whom ?

Dutta : Attempts are being made by a certain section of the people. I can tell you........ In this connection a circular has been issued by the East Bengal Government that in future appointment of tea labourers, only the Muslims should be appointed.

Hon. Nurul Amin : No sir,

Dutta : Yes, there is a circular. This is admitted by your Government.

I can refer this to you. It is useless to enter into a discussion with you here, but it is a fact that appointment should be reserved for Muslims and an attempt is being made to drive away the Hindu labourers who form 95% of the tea labourers.

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta in his speech on March 28, 1952, in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan beginning with page 676, 1952, Vol. I, is reported as follows :

........The History of 1950 is too black to bear repetition. Then went out another circular asking heads of many commercial firms to obtain the approval of the District Magistrates before giving employment to any non-Muslims. Few firms would undertake the trouble of obtaining the District Magistrate's approval for favouring a non-Muslim with a job. This circular, our friend, Sir D. N. Dutta, mentioned last year in this House. The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin interrupted to say that no such circular had been issued. Learning of that interruption, the European secretary of a commercial organisation ventured to send a copy of the circular to my friend here. The latest came a few months back. It was addressed to all District Magistrates, a 14-page circular. It instructed them by no means to return the lands and properties to the returning migrants but to distribute them among the refugees. The returning migrants were to be put off on some excuse or other. The first excuse was to be that the claim was time-barred. Then follows a long list of statutes and orders and the relevant legal bars were to be put forward in each case one after another.

The more significant line follows. In dealing with all other matters, the District Magistrate was to bear in mind the instruction in this behalf. The more curious part comes next. Talk sweetly to minorities and their representatives, even with smile on your lips. You have earned the compliments of persons like the Honourable Mr. C.C. Biswas*, who have stated that it was only some subordinate officials, who were responsible for troubles. Try by all means to maintain your reputation. Keep these instructions secret. Do not trust other officers, they sometimes mismanage and mishandle things.

It has also been lately suggested that there should be no non-Muslim stevedores in the Muslim Homeland.

Some of our minority representatives often say that the worst problem for the minorities in Pakistan is educational. That problem is doubtless there. But to me the basic problem is that of livelihood. Practically all sources of livelihood have been and are being closed to them. Government jobs, jobs in private firms, they are not to have. In the professions there has been a silent campaign of boycott, often encouraged by officials and non officials. Control shops, licences for motor buses and taxis the Hindus have very quickly been deprived of. Formerly, some of them had agencies for the various oil companies, the Imperial Tobacco Co., the I.C.I. and such other firms. They have almost all changed hands. If they are some professors or school masters, as soon as a fresh graduate is available to replace an experienced M.A., some fault is found with

*Minister in the Government of India

the latter, in the long run he would be accused of anti-State propensities. If he does not get into other troubles, he must, at least, give up his job and run for safety across the border. This has happened even to many village postmasters.

Even the poorer folk, the peasant, the fisherman prove no exceptions. A peasant is busy ploughing by a riverside, a constable appears and asks him to ferry him across, the peasant points to a char (a bamboo bridge) nearby, the peasant gets a sound drubbing not only there but subsequently in the police camp. A constable asks a fisherman for some fish for the Havildar and when somebody takes up the fisherman's cause for payment, the intermediary is taken to the thana on a false charge and given such a beating that he is rendered disabled for the rest of his life. An educated and respected villager's paddy is attempted to be reaped by some neighbours of the other community. For resisting them, he is again falsely charged by a sub-inspector but not produced before any court but assaulted severely. None of these are merely imaginary instances. They are all concerned with the Scheduled Castes and happened in recent months round about the various Police camps near Gopalganj, in spite of the Delhi Agreement.

The Delhi Agreement has never worked in its proper spirit not because of any inimical relations subsisting between the communities as such but because on the one hand of official dodgings and deferrings, manoeuvrings and manipulations that are the outcome of the circulars and resolutions, I have already mentioned.

We do not seek, on the ground of belonging to the minority community, exemption from condign punishment if we are guilty of working against the State. But you too must not use as a convenient channel to misdirect a community's attention and wrath into, whenever there is some division in your ranks, whenever there is any agitation against your misrule or blunder. That is not honest and at least does not become those who love so much to associate the State with the name of a great religion. Anything may happen, any agitation by the majority community, any quarrel between Pakistan and India and the Hindus are given out as working havoc against the security and integrity of Pakistan as the agents of India.

Sir, the position is exasperating. As days pass, we feel more and more depressed, although we won our freedom five years back. We feel no heart in our work, as we know we feel, the majority fixed by birth is wholly callous to the voice of reason and justice and humanity, although that majority would call it an Islamic State. The prevailing attitude appears to be, they lose nothing if the minority suffers or in despair leaves.

I would, therefore, urge upon the Honourable Prime Minister that if he sincerely desires that the minorities should stay here and if he genuinely feels that an exchange of population would not serve the best interests of the State, then he must rise to the occasion."

When we interviewed Mr. B.K. Dutta, he Confirmed that he had seen and read the circulars referred to in his speech.

Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutta, speaking in the Constituent Assembly on March 29, 1952 inter alia stated ; at page 757.

"I would speak a few words with regard to our position. There is a great deal of mistrust. If you put on loongi, poor Muslim clothes in East Bengal, it is said that we disguise ourselves. If we put on dhoti, then it is said that we have come from West Bengal. There is such a sense of mistrust and this has been engineered under the Government of Pakistañ."

The Prime Minister of Pakistan speaking on March 29, 1952 has attempted to make a rather evasive reply in the Constituent Assembly regarding the circulars mentioned by Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta.

Although, after the Pact, acts of violence against the Hindus decreased to some extent, the migration continued because the general lack of security had in no way changed. In 1950 alone 1¾ million refugees came to India and the figure for 1951-62 was six hundred thousand. This continued right upto 1956. During 1953 to 1956 about one million, six hundred and forty thousand arrived in India. The flow still continued as indicated by the figures from 1957 to 1961, which amounted to about 40 thousand in West Bengal and Assam. In 1962 there were attacks on non-Muslims and their properties and women in Rajshahi District. The figures for 1962 and 1963 for Bengal and Assam amounted to 35 thousand. Thereafter the present wave again started and by the end of December about 8,50,000 refugees arrived in India. All the witnesses we examined have stated that the reason for their migration was the utter lack of security similar to that described in the memorandum of 1949 and in the speech of Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta and the large scale atrocities that took place.

Since Partition a large number of Pakistani Muslims had illegally entered into various parts of India. Since about 1961 the Government of India had decided to deport the illegal migrants. As a result of that, after careful enquiry, a number of these illegal entrants were deported into East Bengal, from West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. When these persons went back to various parts of East Pakistan contiguous to the Indian border, the authorities settled them by driving out members of minority communities from their homesteads and from their land.

We give below an article from Janta Weekly from Dacca dated October 23, 1963, setting out what was happening regarding the settlement of these deportees.

"Minority Being Victimised to Provide Shelter and Accommodation For Deportees.
Absence Of Clear-Cut Government Policy For Rehabilitation.

Socalled Refugees Used As Instrument Of Mischief By The Anti-Social Elements. How is the Government Relief Being Utilised ?

A large number of deportees has been arriving at Comilla and Noakhali. An immediate solution of the problem of permanently settling these persons has become indispensable. Instead of rehabilitating them the Union Council Chairmen have been exploiting the helplessness of the destitutes and using it in collusion with the miscreants as an instrument for their limitless corruption. On the pretext of resettling these people, the anti-social elements have been embittering the social atmosphere by oppressing the innocent minorities in an indescribable manner. Taking advantage of the absence of a strong Government policy with regard to the solution of the problems of the deportees the miscreants have been engaging these people indiscriminately for their contemptible motives. In some places there has been apprehension of the communal amity being breached

Tools of Corruption; Minorities Oppressed.

These deportees, however, have become tools of corruption in the hands of the anti-social elements. For want of food and shelter they have been facing a grave crisis. The Union Council Chairmen have been entrusted with the task of dividing these deportees in different groups and settling them in the properties left by the minorities. Taking advantage of the loopholes in this policy of the Government the opportunist miscreants have been passing themselves as deportees and procuring cards with the help of the Chairmen. On the other hand, a section of the miscreants has been inciting the deportees and eventually wasting resources of the country by damaging the crops,gardens and trees on the homesteads of the members of the minority community. While Government has been trying to increase the country's resources by observing tree plantation week at a huge expenditure, this sort of depredations has made the people with civic sense quite antagonisitic towards the deportees.

So called Refugees

Government has made arrangement to distribute a 15-columned form to find out facts about the deportees. In this form there is no column provided for furnishing information whether the refugees have any landed property or homestead in Pakistan. As a result, the people who migrated 2/3 years back and are now permanently settled here with service or business have been trying to become so-called deportees after procuring refugee cards. They are also trying to occupy the properties left by the minorities. They are getting all the facilities provided for the deportees what is more, since they are known to the local touts and Chairman they themselves misappropriate the lion's share of the facilities extended to the deportees. As a result, the bonafide deportees have been stranded to penury and subjected to limitless suffering and starvation. Who is to look after them ?

Minorities Panick Stricken

The Chairmen of the Union Councils have contrived plans to settle the deportees in the homesteads of the minorities and extort money from the minorities by holding out the threat of inciting the deportees to damage the gardens and the trees of the minorities. With this motive in view the deportee families are being taken from one place to the other as if to use them as implements of the trade of extortion of money from the minorities. In this process the deportees are subjected to untold suffering. Similarly the minorities have become panick-stricken. On the other hand, newer devices of large scale corruption are being designed to pollute the social life. Eventually, in some places communal peace has been disturbed. It is reported that the social workers and the saner section of the public who are vocal with their protest against these malicious activities are being misled. The plea of sufferings of the evictees and the slogan of Muslim oppression in India are being held

out before them. A few incidents in the No. 9 Aswadia Union of Sudharam P.S. in Noakhali district can be cited as instances of these disdainful activities.

(i) A few homesteads of the Hindus in which the evictees have been provided shelter temporarily are being mentioned below:

In the aforesaid Union, Arif Meah and Kala Meah, Kalu Gazi and Kala Meah, Nural Islam and Fazle Rehman, Badi Alam, Seramat Ali, Nazir Ahmed and Matleb Ali, Nurul Islam and Kadam Ali, and Mokan Ali have been given shelter in the homesteads belonging to Dr. Manmohan of Alipur, Hirendra Nath Das of Shyampur, Narendra Paul, Maniklal Das, Keshab Chandra Das of Alipur, Harmohan De of Nurpur, Nani Gopal Chowdhury of Shyampur, Lakshmikanta Mazumdar of East Nurpur respectively.

It may be mentioned that these homesteads were not vacant. The Hindu owners have been living in these homesteads.

(ii) Of these deportees, the ancestors of Kala Meah, Nurul Islam, Fazle Rehman and Badi Alam had been the residents of South Nazirpur. In 1950 after their homesteads and cultivable lands had been eroded by the river they migrated to Tripura State in India. When the eroded lands had reappeared they themselves cultivated these lands year after year. These lands form the plot No. 190 and 199 of the villages of Nazirpur and Aswadia respectively. Besides, as heirs to the late Kalim Uddin Howaldar they are owners of many landed properties. Among these, Nurul Islam particularly has purchased the properties of the following description during 1960-62.

(a) 32/100 part of the plot No. 104 in Nazirpur village and 30/100 part of the plot No. 12 in Lalpur village from Abdur Rab, son of late Meah Jan of Machchimpur.

(b) 91/100 part of plot No. 26 of Dhumchar and 64/100 part of plot No. 164 in East Dhumchar from Abdur Rab, son of Meah Jan of South Machchimpur, Tofail Ahmed, son of Ali Ahmed and Abdur Rehman, son of Mansur Ali, Nazir Ahmed, who has occupied the homesteads of Harmohan De has his own homesteads and lands in Ramdevpur village itself under Union No. 12.

(iii) One Samsul Huq of Aswadia has registered himself as a refugee and obtained a registration card.

He has his own homesteads, lands and business in East Pakistan itself. At present he lives on his own homesteads. He is the owner of a shop in the Sonapur Municipal area. In this establishment he has 4/5 regular employees, The capital that he invested in this business would be more than Rs. 10,000. Besides, he is having his business with the rationing dealers on share basis at the Ferryghats. As the report is becoming too long, I refrain from citing more instances.

Depredations carried by Deportees

(iv) As I have already stated, it is reported that the Union Council Chairmen are shifting the deportees from one place to the other and are extorting money from the minorities by holding out before them (the minorties) the threat of housing the deportees in the homesteads of the minorities. A few cases in point may be cited. In October last, Badi Alam, son of late Rahman Ali was given shelter by the Chairman in the house of Harmohan De of Nurpur. In the month of March, he was shifted from Harmohan De's house and sent to the house of Maniklal Das of Alipur. After 10/15 days, he was shifted from there and accommodated in the house of Lakshmikant Majumdar. On 30th June he again returned to Maniklal Das's house

In all these houses he carried on depredations by cutting the betel-nut and coconut trees. During his stay in Harendra Paul's house Nurul Islam damaged all the trees and gardens belonging to Harindra Pal.

While Badu Meah, son of Hossain Ahmed of Aswadia was cutting the trees and gardens belonging to Narendra Paul that he had purchased from Nurul Islam he was caught red-handed by the Chairman with the help of the villagers. He was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 210/- and Nurul Islam was asked to vacate the house of Narendra Paul within 24 hours and return to his own homesteads. But this order has not yet been given effect to.

Oppresssion of Basic Democrats :

Absence of Law and Order.

Consequent upon these incidents, panic has been created amongst the minorities. As a result of the oppression being perpetrated on the innocent villagers by the basic democrats and the Chairmen in collusion with the so called deportees and the miscreants, chaos and confusion are gradually descending over the villages. In the village areas as a result of this uncontrolled

arbitrary activities the absence of law and order has become more poignant. The life in a village today has become unbearable as a result of this oppression and extortion. In some places; communal hatred is emerging out. If Government is interested to put an end to such an uncertain and suffocating situation, a clear-cut policy for settling the deportee problem has to be adopted.

The deportees from Assam were settled in a similar manner to begin with in the border areas of Mymensingh district, largely inhabited by the Christians, hill tribes of Hajongs and Sangmas. So far as deportees from Tripura were concerned many of them were settled in parts of Sylhet, Comilla, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill Tracts. The last mentioned district was largely inhabited by the Buddhist hill tribes known as Chakmas. These settlements and the consequent dispossessions had already started creating a certain amount of trouble.

However, while these forcible settlements accentuated the already existing lack of security, so far as the minorities are concerned, these settlements were not responsible directly for the large scale atrocities inflicted on the minorities, as will appear from other parts of this report. The atrocities took place as a result of incitement after the Hazarat Bal incident on December 27, 1963.

It may be stated here that the population of minorities has been reduced from 13 million at the end of 1947 to 8¼ million by the end of 1964.


SRINAGAR
HAZARAT BAL
WEST PAKISTAN
DELHI
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
INDIA
INDIA
EAST PAKISTAN
BURMA
CALCUTTA
ROURKELA
RAIGARH

PART II

1 9 6 4

THE CAUSE

Hazarat Bal Incident and Its Aftermath

On October 22, 1947, within two months of Partition, Kashmir, which had not acceded to either India or Pakistan, was invaded by tribesmen from the North West Frontier. It was alleged that the tribal invaders were merely a front put forward by Pakistan and that Pakistan was really responsible for the invasion. Pakistan denied it. In order to avert the running over of Kashmir by the ivaders, the Maharaja requested India for help and acceded it to India. The Government of India sent troops to aid the Maharaja to drive out the invaders but accepted a conditional accession. Later on, Pakistan conceded that the so called invasion by the tribals was really an invasion by Pakistan.

When the matter was taken to the United Nations on the complaint of India, through the good offices of the United Nations a cease-fire was accepted by India and Pakistan and Plebiscite in Kashmir, under certain conditions, was also agreed to.

Since we are not going into the Kashmir dispute, we do not propose to go into the details of that dispute. The matter has been discussed in the United Nations on several occasions and during the past few years, because of this dispute, Pakistan has carried on a ceaseless propaganda against the Indian Government in general and Hindus in particular.

When it became known that the Relic namely the Holy Prophet's Hair was stolen from the Hazarat Bal mosque, about 4 miles from Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, Pakistan believed that it had found the opportunity to proclaim to the World that neither Muslims nor their shrines were safe in India. The propaganda in which they indulged and the terrible results of that propaganda in East Pakistan, are set out in this and subsequent Parts of this report.

This Shrine was in-charge of a family of hereditary caretakers of the shrine. The Relic was placed inside one of the rooms of the Hazarat Bal mosque. The Relic consisted of one hair of the Holy Prophet placed inside a glass tube. This tube used to be ordinarily kept within a casket which was again put in a bigger casket. This bigger casket was put in a steel box and this box was placed in a small room, the entrance of which was through a glass panelled door. Ordinarily this door was kept locked, the keys being with the attendants. The attendants were to guard that door by turns.

On certain occasions, the glass tube used to be taken out from the caskets and one of the attendants would hold it up for displaying it from a balcony to the reverent gaze of the devotees collected in the open space in front of that balcony for 'Deedar'.

On the night of December 27, 1963, the glass panel of the door was broken and the Relic along with the caskets was removed. Later the attendant whose duty it was to guard it said that he had been unfortunately away for 2 or 3 hours during which time the theft took place.

The Government of Kashmir naturally started making inquiries about the disappearance. But this disappearance created a shock among the people which soon developed into a large scale commotion and meetings and processions were taken out in which not only the Muslims but the other communities also joined. The anger of the people was mainly directed towards the government for their carelessness in allowing this to happen.

The Government of Pakistan which has been agitating the question of Kashmir in the United Nations and other places for the past few years, seized upon this incident and began a vitriolic campaign against the Government of India and of incitement of Muslims not only in Pakistan but in India as well. In Pakistan the incitement by speeches and statements of leaders and by the Press, included a call of 'Jehad' (Holy War against infidels). This incitement was not only against the Government of India but against Hindus as well. This incitement also invited the Indian Muslims to rise in rebellion against the Indian Government.

By this the Pakistan Government was hoping to create a situation in which at least the Muslims in Kashmir would rise in revolt and thus facilitate Pakistan's aim of seizing Kashmir by force.

It was also alleged that about the same time the mosque situated at Kishtwar, about 40 miles from Srinagar, had also been burnt. This was not true. What had happened was

that there was a fire in one of the outhouses of the mosque which had been promptly extinguished. The suggestion of the Pakistan Press in making the statement of the burning of this mosque was intended to create the impression that not only the Relic had been stolen but that mosques were also being destroyed at the same time.

So far as East Pakistan is concerned the Hazarat Bal incident created the tragic situation in which large scale assaults on minority communities, their homes. properties and women took place and large number of Hindus were killed. and millions worth property destroyed. An exodus of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians from East Pakistan began and has not yet been halted.

This unfortunate incident, which did not result in any communal incident in Kashmir, was seized upon by the leaders of Pakistan, whose statements could only be described as incitements to the Muslims of Pakistan against the minorities particularly the Hindus.

It may be noted that since there were hardly any Hindus or other minorities in West Pakistan, the statements of Pakistan leaders and ministers of the Central Government could only arouse the Muslims in East Pakistan against such minorities.

The Hazarat Bal incident took place on December 27, 1963. Next day Pakistan Home and Kashmir Affairs Minister Mr. Khan Habibullah Khan made a statement, which was widely carried by the press. In this statement he said that the theft was a sequence in the drama of hatred and bloodshed staged in Bharat (India) since its very inception. The reference to bloodshed obviously refers to the repeated Pakistan allegation that Muslims in India are being massacred.

A call was also issued to observe December 31, 1963 as a Black Day to express what the Dawn of December 30,1963, an English daily of Karachi, known to be the official organ of the Government, described as "the resentment and the vandalism in the Muslim Sanctuary." Similar statements were prominently published in other papers in Pakistan. Some of them called upon the Pakistan army to take police action in Kashmir.

In its editorial comment Dawn of Karachi December 30, 1963 stated :-

> "Muslim men and Muslim women were fired upon in the name of law and order. The actual number of the killed and the injured will never be known......It is a satanic plot and it aims at solving the Kashmir problem

by liquidating Muslims and converting the State into as nearly a Hindu area as may be. The real thief and the real arsonist is the Prime Minister of India."

Actually only 2 persons, from among the rioters who included all communities were killed.

Pakistan's Law Minister Mr. Sheikh Khorshid Ahmed described the happenings in Srinagar as :

> "Indicative of the intolerant and militant Indian attitude."

The Minister of External Affairs Mr. Z.A. Bhutto described the theft as :

> "a dastardly attack on the religious sentiments of Muslims of Kashmir......a part of India's plan to reduce Muslim majority of Kashmir to minority." Pakistan Times, December 30, 1963.

This was also carried in the Morning News of Dacca on January 2. 1964. Mr. Bhutto's statement "to reduce Muslim majority in Kashmir" could only suggest that Muslims were being massacred in Kashmir. This theme occurs again and again in the subsequent agitation.

'Dawn' January 1, 1964 published a news item from Lahore, dated December 31, 1963 under the heading :

> **'Unholy conspiracy to wipe out Muslim Culture' India condemned for theft of Relic'.**

It stated that the disappearance of the Relic had caused deep resentment throughout West Pakistan. It goes on to say that the people have called upon Muslims in India and Pakistan to declare a 'Jehad' and save Muslim Shrines in that country from further sacrilege.

It goes on to quote statements of various prominent persons from Pakistan. One of which by Maulana Gulam Mirshid is :

> "Mr. Nehru cannot obliterate by these tactics the intense love and respect which every Muslim has for the Holy Prophet. If he wants to have another test he will have it and at a very high cost to himself."

Maulana Fazal Hussain Dilawar called upon the Government of Pakistan :

> "to rise to the occasion and save the Muslims from the bloody clutches of the Indian Wolves." 'Dawn, January 1, 1964.

It may be noted here that whatever disturbances there were in Kashmir, such disturbances were not communal in nature. The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Kashmir joined hands and their resentment was expressed by setting fire to Cinema houses, Hotels and looting a workshop. They also burnt two fire engines, two cars and a truck. Not a single non-Muslim was attacked. This happened on December 28, 1963. The only persons injured were a Superintendent of Police and some constables.

The Urdu papers also joined in. The Tamsar, Rawalpindi, December 30, 1963, carried the headline :

> **Massacre of Demonstrating Muslims. Indian Army and Maha Sabha's goondas set the houses of hundreds of Muslims on fire.**

Hurriyat Karachi December 31, 1963, gave the following 6 column headline :

> **"Indian Army reaches Srinagar to crush Muslims"**

The utterly unfounded story of the happening in Kashmir was the theme of a resolution adopted by the West Pakistan Assembly which naturally received wide publicity. An announcement was also made for the observance of a Protest Day on January 3, 1964.

On January 1, 1964, in the meeting of West Pakistan Assembly an adjournment motion was moved to consider the Hazarat Bal incident. This motion was withdrawn at the suggestion of the Law Minister, who stated that it was a big issue :

> "But I had proposed that the matter should be discussed in the form of a resolution instead of an adjournment motion."

The motion, therefore, was deferred till Monday, the January 6, 1964.

However, when the Assembly met on January 2, 1964, a resolution was moved. The summary of the proceedings as appearing in Pakistan Times of January 3, 1964 says :

> "West Pakistan Assembly was unanimous in expressing deep anger and sorrow on the theft of the Holy Relic from Hazarat Bal Shrine and calling upon the Central Government to warn India to withhold its hand of repression on Muslims."

It is reported that angry speeches were made and that the members were of the view that the intended merger of "Occupied Kashmir"* with India, "the mysterious disappearance"

*This refers to the portion not occupied by Pakistan.

of the Sacred Relic and subsequent repression, **is the link in** chain of India's conspiracy against the Muslims. Members said that the deplorable incident was perpetrated with a view to provoke the Kashmiri Muslims so that a reign of terror may be let loose upon them and they be forced to abandon their mother land. The speakers condemned in unequivocal terms, Indian policies with regard to Muslims.

Members were unanimous in their opinion that the loss of the Holy Hair was a part of the evil designs engineered against the Muslims. They said that helpless Kashmiris were looking for the support to the Pakistani Muslims and urged the Govern ment not to disappoint the Kashmiris in their hour of trial.

Members stated that **India should learn the lesson from Pakistan where minorities enjoyed equal rights with the Muslims and led Peaceful lives.**

In view of the aftermath of this resolution, which led to a large scale attack and unspeakable brutalities against the minorities, this statement is indeed ironical.

The report continues that most speakers called for effective steps by Pakistan to safeguard the interests of the Kashmiris and to take measures for the protection of the religious sentiments of Muslims. Opinion was also expressed that Pakistan should come to the aid of the Kashmiris and many said that cease fire agreement made by Pakistan was a mistake. The only way to retract it was to deal with the situation with a strong hand.

Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan, Railway Minister, said that India wanted to excite the Muslims of Kashmir so that the authorities could commit atrocities on them and force them to leave the area.

Mr. Khwaja Mahammud Safdar said that the latest developments demanded positive steps on the part of Pakistan Government to counter the activities of the Indian Government.

Inflammatory statements were made by various prominent religious leaders and others even before this resolution was adopted. Meetings were also held in which similar speeches were made. This is reported by Pakistan Times on January 3, 1964. It also reports that a Black Day demonstration would be held in Quetta as in other places. It says that Province-wide meetings will be held that day to protest against the theft of the Holy Relic from Hazarat Bal Shrine. It also reports the names of the persons, prominent religious and political leaders, who were to address the meetings.

The Pakistan Times reports on January 4, 1964, that on the previous day hartals (protest stoppage of work) were observed and at the meeting, among other things, a call for 'Jehad' was made. Effigies of Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, as a symbol of communal hatred, were burnt.

At a meeting held in Lahore, referring to the Hazarat Bal Shrine, **Mr. Khan Pira Mahamud Khan, the Revenue Minister** said that the sole aim of violating the sanctity of the sacred Hair was to provoke the Muslims in Kashmir, because, by doing so, the Indian rulers wanted to find justification for the **extermination** of the Muslims who formed a majority in Kashmir. He continued that the Indian rulers knew it fully well that the Hazarat Bal Shrine, where the sacred Hair had been preserved for centuries was a symbol of Muslim unity. He went on to say that Indian rulers wanted to destroy this institution. He further said that the theft was the result of a deep conspiracy to provoke the Muslims by injuring their religious susceptibilities.

After making a speech of that nature he appealed to the people not to be carried away by emotions but to try and find a solution in a rational manner. There were issues, he added, which could be tackled differently and at Government level.

Mr. Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din stated that the wicked act committed in Hazarat Bal was indicative of India's evil designs to harass the **Muslim population and to erase every trace of Islam**. Similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. Sheikh Zafar Hussain and he went on to add that **Hindu** hatred for Islam was in fact climaxed by the shameful act of insulting the Holy Prophet's Relic. He warned India to behave in a civilized manner failing which, he added, "We will be forced to draw the sword."

Among the slogans were "Le Ke Rahen Ge Kashmir" and "Dena pare Ga Kashmir." (We shall not rest till we take Kashmir. Kashmir will have to be given (by India).

This incident, which was deplored by all the communities in India, was utilized to further the Pakistani cause of Kashmir. It was also, unfortunately, utilized to spread hatred not merely against India but against Hindus in general who would obviously include the nine million Hindu population in East Pakistan.

A resolution passed by the so called refugees from Jammu and Kashmir said that it was an opportune moment to launch a war of of liberation in Kashmir.

Syed Noor Hussain Shah, President of the said organization in a statement said :

"The theft will prove the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. Our patience is now brimful. All paths of peace and roads to reason have been blocked by India under the direct instructions of Mr. Nehru. There is now no course left to us, save to declare Jehad against India. It is only through Jehad that we can save the Muslims from extermination .... Nehru understands only one language, that of force. We must all unite at this crucial hour. Any further delay would be suicidal."

Morning News, Dacca 31.12.1963.

A meeting of all Pakistan Majlis-e-Ahrar called upon the Government of Pakistan to check **Indian atrocities in Kashmir.** Similar meetings were held all over Pakistan where similar sentiments were expressed and call for police action and Jehad were made.

Meetings were organised in East Pakistan on and before Hazarat Bal day.

It will be seen from this as well as the statements already quoted from Dawn and other papers that the attempt was not only to rouse the Muslims in Pakistan but also those in India to undertake a Jehad. This is nothing less then an incitement to revolt so far as Indian Muslims are concerned.

Morning News, December 31, 1963 in its leading article among other things quoted **Mr. Khan Habibulla Khan, the Home and Kashmir Affairs Minister, as saying :**

"The Hindu hate-mongers of India and their henchmen in 'occupied' parts of the State have struck at the very soul of the Kashmiris and their religious susceptibilities. The Indian Government cannot absolve itself of responsibility for the terrible GENOCIDE of the Muslims of India and the held-Kashmir, whether it was a direct party or not, which is substantiated by the Indian outbursts of communal fury against them."

On January 3, 1964 'Black Day' was reported to have been observed in various places in East Pakistan by Morning News, January 4, 1964. These meetings were addressed by prominent religious and lay leaders. Similar reports appear in Pakistan Times.

Mr. Sabur Khan, the Central Communication Minister of Pakistan, organised meetings at various places in Khulna district, where anti-Hindu sentiments were expressed. Soon after the meeting the attacks on Hindus commenced.

Trouble began in Khulna directly as a result of the 'Protest Day', It may be noted **that Pakistan Central Minister for Communications Mr. Sabur Khan** was in Khulna on and before January 3, 1964.

Evidence with us also discloses that Sabur Khan had been making inflammatory speeches rousing the Muslims against not only India but Hindus in East Pakistan. In one of such speeches he is reported to have said that he will make even the leaves of trees shout "Alaha Alaha". and that either the Hindus will have to do likewise or there would be no place for them in East Pakistan but that in the meantime they will learn what is the pleasure of living in Pakistan.

As a result of the attacks in Khulna and, next day in Mangla Port there were large scale looting and burning of Hindu houses and also killings which go into hundreds in the first two or three days.

While this terror was still continuing in full vigour on January 3, 1964, it is reported in Pakistan Observer, January 4, 1964 :

"The DIG (Deputy Inspector General of Police) when contacted telephonically late Friday evening said that the situation was well under control. He, however, did not have any knowledge of any person being killed in the disturbances and he put the figures of injured at 5. He said that the extent of damage would not be very high. He further stated that the hooligans mainly ransacked shops on the road side. Some godowns on the bank of the river Bhairab were set on fire but these godowns were mostly empty. The DIG also said that adequate measures for giving relief to affected families have been made."

It is also stated :

"Sabur Khan, Central Minister of Communications, who is at present at Kulna, visited some of the disturbed area. Several families have been given shelter in the Minister's garden house at Labanchora."

From the evidence that we have set out in Part III Chapter I, it will be clear that the statement of the DIG is an utter travesty of truth. From the statements we have dealt with, there are numerous instances of wanton killing in Kulna town and on the Ghats of the river of passengers arriving by Launch from other places. We have also quoted evidence which shows that large number of dead bodies were seen floating on the river.

The statements we have quoted also describe large scale looting and burning of Hindu houses. The DIG curiously says

that many of the godowns which were set on fire were empty.

These incidents continued for several days.

As for the statement that adequate measures were taken for giving relief to affected families we have found no trace of it. From area after area the only refuge that the unfortunate victims found was either in the paddy fields or in the jungles nearby where they spent the night of January 3, 1964, in their hundreds.

Again the statement that Mr. Sabur Khan gave shelter to several families in his garden house is not borne out at all We have cited the evidence of some witness, among many, some of whom were his neighbours, about the utter indifference of Sabur Khan when he was contacted on telephone by several of them.

It should be noted here that the same Sabur Khan, who was very busy during the previous few days rousing the Muslims to a religious frenzy by his speeches, which resulted in the atrocities, was doing his utmost to whip up anti-Hindu feelings.

A press Note issued by the Government regarding the happenings on the January 3, 1964, published in Pakistan Observer of January 4, 1964 and other paper says,

> "Mill-hands of Daulatpur area in Khulna district, this afternoon, came out in a procession about 20,000 strong. They obstructed rail and road traffic and later on marched to Khulna town shouting slogans condemning the Hazarat Bal Shrine incident in "Indian Occupied Kashmir." After entering the town at about sun set, a section of the processionists became violent and damaged a number of houses and looted some shops. The police and the E. P. R. (East Pakistan Rifles) dispersed them and an order u/s (Under Section) **144 of Cr. P.C.** was promulgated. Some time later a village near Daulatpur was attacked by another group of Mill-hands and some houses were looted and set on fire. The police rushed to the place and brought the situation under control. Five persons were injured. 73 rioters have so far been arrested. The affected area is being controlled by E. P. R. and the Police, and the situation has returned to normal."

The section 144 referred to is a section in the Code of Criminal Procedure whereby the proper authority is empowered to prohibit meetings, processions and gatherings of any kind in public or in a public place in order to prevent a breach of the peace.

How normal the situation was can be judged by the report in Pakistan Observer dated January 5, 1964;

> "The army was called in at Khulna on Saturday evening (4.1.1964) to quell the disturbances that broke out in the town and its suburbs on Friday. The army was given control of Khulna city area which includes Khulna town, Daulatpur and Khalishpur industrial zone.
>
> Hooligans and rowdies tried to let loose a reign of terror on Friday at Khulna, taking opportunity of a protest demonstration against the Hazarat Bal Shrine incident in "Occupied Kashmir", it may be recalled here."

No comment on our part is necessary. We might however, mention that from the evidence cited by us it appears that the Police and E. P. R., very far from doing any thing to control the situation, were not to be noticed anywhere and the military, when called out, had no orders to shoot.

Before we proceed further it may be worth noting that the large scale attacks on minorities, with which we shall deal in Chapter III, began in Khulna on January 3, 1964. From the evidence of the witnesses it is clear that the disturbances broke out in more than one place on January 3, 1964. This fact, we may presume. was known to the President of Pakistan, particularly because the attacks were on a massive scale.

Instead of trying to condemn this, so that the situation might have been brought under control quickly, F. M. Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan made a statement, addressing a large crowd at Sukkur airport, on January 4, 1964, which was prominently carried in Pakistan papers. We quote the relevant portion of the statement as reproduced in Pakistan Times, January 5, 1964.

SUKKUR, Jan. 4 : **President Mohammad Ayub Khan** said that the theft of the holy relic is a calculated political conspiracy to **subject the Muslims** of the "Occupied Kashmir" to **more and more atrocities.**

He was addressing a huge crowd at the Sukkur airport here this evening.

He said :

> No Muslim, however sinful, could even think of committing such a sacrilege. Therefore, it was certain that no Muslim could be held responsible for this heinous crime and as such it was evident that the crime was motivated by a political conspiracy. The

Muslims of the "Occupied Kashmir" were being subjected to inhuman cruelties ever since their subjugation but now there were evident moves to **multiply their miseries.** The loss of the holy Relic had injured the feelings of the Muslims everywhere particularly those of Pakistani and Kashmiri Muslims."

The President must have been well aware that this incident had shocked not only the Muslims but the other communities as well, all over India. who joined with one voice in the demand that the relic should be expeditiously recovered and that those guilty should be given condign punishment. He also must have been aware that members of all communities, irrespective of their religion, took part in the demonstrations and hartal in Kashmir and other places.

The sacred Relic was found on January 4, 1964 and the miscreants arrested. This itself proved to be a further cause for more inflammatory statements. On January 5, 1964, the Pakistan Radio descsibed this as a fraud and Pakistan leaders were not behind hand in repeating what the Radio had said that the discovery was a fraud. Pakistan Radio also stated that the students of Dacca University had condemned the theft of the Hazarat Bal Relic, and called it a new provocation. It also announced that a students' meeting was going to be held in Dacca the next day.

The Editor of Ittefaq, a Bengali Daily from East Pakistan, on January 5, 1964 says:

"Any decent citizen of Pakistan would be saddened and ashamed by these incidents. It is natural that there should be concern among the Pakistani people over the theft of the Holy Prophet's Relic in Hazarat Bal. But those who have created internal discontent, disorder and riots on the pretext of this incident are not motivated by religion, nor are they well wishers of Pakistan. Above all, the name of the messenger of peace, the Holy Prophet, cannot be made a pretext for riots.".

Sangbad, Bengali daily from Dacca, on January 6, 1964, criticised 'reactionary circles' for inciting communal passions over the Hazarat Bal incident, resulting in the Khulna riots. The paper said:

"Communalism is not yet dead. It is the principal weapon in the hands of reactionaries to confuse the the people's unity and their struggle. The reactionaries did not feel pangs of conscience in using this terrible weapon in their own interests. Strikes have been organised in factories and as a result the tragic events followed

in Khulna. Some bad elements have taken advantage of communal feelings to loot, burn and murder."

The paper further said:

"We wish to ask why could not the authorities prevent these strikes in so many factories in Khulna over the Hazarat Bal incident? Did they not know that the goonda elements are creating communal feelings?...... Why were preventive measures against bad elements not taken in time?"

Pakistan Radio January 6, 1964 quoted **Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa, the Central Information Minister,** as saying that the removal of the Holy Relic from the Hazarat Bal Shrine shows the absolute hollowness of the so-called secularism of the Indian Government. He is further reported to have said that the Hazarat Bal sacrilege and the burning down of some of the Muslim shrines and shops had shaken the entire Muslim World. He described the disappearance of the sacred relic as a **pre-planned act** aimed at harming the Institutions of Muslims.

The Pakistan Times, January 6, 1964 in Banner headlines said:

Relic Recovery claim smells of Fraud."

The Pakistan Times reported a statement of a spokesman of the *"Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir" saying that there were strong reasons to believe that the announcement of recovery of the Holy Relic was a deliberate attempt to deceive Muslims. To the heinous crime of sacrilege, he added, the **Hindu** Government of India was now adding the insult of substitution which was an outrage against the religious sentiments of not only the Muslims of Kashmir but the **Muslims** of the whole world.

Reports in similar strain appeared also in Dawn, January 6, 1964. According to Dawn the announcement of the recovery was falsely made because of secret instructions from Mr. Nehru. It charged that the recovered Relic was a false Hair.

On January 7, 1964 Dawn came out with headlines:
"Grave doubt, over Relic recovery claim."

Dawn, January 8, 1964 printed under banner headlines:

'Conspiracy deepens in Held Kashmir'

It said:

"New Delhi's official version is evidently still in the process of being concerted. Those in charge of pre-

*Pakistan occupied area of Kashmir.

paring it are watching the situation. Further according to the same story the sacred Relic was "recovered" on January 1, 1964 but it was thought necessary that a reference should be made to New Delhi before announcing the "recovery"."

Pakistan Times, January 11, 1964 reported "**Mr. Habibulla Khan, the Home Minister of Pakistan,** characterised the Relic recovery, a mere fraud".

Morning News, January 11, 1964 reported that the hartal was observed at Muzaffarabad to protest against the sacrilege of the sacred Relic and the subsequent Indian attempt to substitute it. It also says that a similar hartal would take place the next day in Rajshahi (East Pakistan).

Dawn, January 14, 1964 under the headline :

'India asked to restore genuine Relic' says that there was an angry demonstration by tribesmen where this demand was made.

Pakistan Times also gave bold headlines on January 7, 1964 :

"Mass uprising in Held Kashmir"

It may be noticed here, as stated by us earlier, that in the hartals Hindus as well as other communities of Kashmir had joined the Muslims and there was not a single incident of a communal nature that took place during the period when tension created by the theft of Hazarat Bal had been very great; and yet such statements appeared in bold type in leading newspapers in Pakistan, the implications being an incitements to Indian Muslims.

The only incident that happened in which any lives were lost was earlier as stated by us when two persons burning and looting private properties were shot dead.

On January 7, 1964, Evening Star, Karachi in banner headline announced the killing of over 20 persons and 300 persons as injured.

Anjam of Karachi on the same date gave out a story of burning of Muslim villages near Jammu by Hindu goondas.

Pakistan Times, January 8, 1946 again in banner headlines stated :

"Massacre of Mourning Muslims in Kashmir"

It then refers to a *PPA message from New Delhi January 7, 1964 which says :

*Pakistan Press Agency.

"The Indians went into action in Srinagar today massacring angry Muslims mourning the loss of Holy Prophet's Hair. The indiscriminate firing by the Indian police on Muslims resulted in loss of several lives and hundreds were hospitalised while Srinagar jails were full to the brim.".

We have found no evidence of this what-so-ever.

Morning News of the same date gave the following banner head lines ;

"Fifteen Killed in Police Firing at Srinagar, 200 Persons Injured—80 Seriously".

Pakistan Times, January 9, 1964 quoted Chaudhari Gulam Abbas, Chief of "Kashmir Liberation Movement" as saying :

"India's claim about the recovery of the sacred hair was unbelievable in the face of facts."

He came out with a suggestion for identification by Sheikh Abdulla and Mr. Nazimuddin, former Prime Minister of Pakistan. In fact the Relic had been inspected and identified as genuine by Uelmas (divines) in Kashmir.

Morning News of the same date announced with headlines :

"Indians Bayonating Mourning Muslims".

While the attacks in various parts of Pakistan had continued unabated on January 9 and 10, there were some communal incidents in Calcutta. Prompt steps were taken by the Indian Government to bring the situation under control by calling out the army and the situation was brought under complete control within 3 days. We shall deal with what happened in Calcutta in a separate section. But the Calcutta incidents were seized upon as a cause for further large scale attacks on Hindus in different parts of Pakistan, when these attaks began in and near about Dacca on January 13, 1964.

Mr. Gopalchandra Basu, Mr. Stipathi Thakar and Mr. Sithal Prasad Roy, three members of the minority community in East Pakistan Assembly, in a statement issued on January 9, 1964 had criticised the District authorities of Khulna "for their inactivity and indifference" to prevent previous weeks' disturbances. They added that it was surprising how the local authorities could have allowed a 20,000 strong procession to march into Khulna town and allow them to take the law in their own hands. On the same day viz. January 9, 1964, Mr. C.S. Jha, Cammonwealth Secretary, Government of India had

also conveyed to Mr. Arshad Hussain, Pakistan High Commissioner in India the Indian Government's anxiety over widespread and continuing disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in loss of life and property and in panic and insecurity among the minority community. About the same time, the West Bengal Government sent a protest note to the East Pakistan Government pointing out that unless the East Pakistan authorities took strong steps to suppress the disturbances, tension might mount in West Bengal with serious repercussions.

On January 10, 1964, afternoon, whilst addressing a big Muslim post-prayer congregation at Hazarat Bal Shrine Maulana Mohamed Syeed Masudi, former General Secretary of the National Conference condemned the communal riots in East Pakistan.

However, Pakistan Radio reported that two persons were killed and several injured in communal riots in Calcutta according to the Indian press, and adds that reports reaching Dacca say that the number of casualties were much higher.

The Radio continues :

"Authoritative sources in Dacca said today that the reference made to the so-called communal riots in Khulna, by a spokesman of the Indian External Affairs Ministry was just an attempt to cover up the Calcutta riots. These sources pointed out that there was nothing communal in the Khulna incident.

What had happened was just a demonstration by the Muslims to express their anger as to the theft of the sacred Relic from the Hazarat Bal Shrine. Meanwhile, the Central Communication Minister, Mr. Abdus Sabur Khan, said in Dacca today, that the situation in Khulna was absolutely normal. He praised the local administration for the steps taken to bring the situation under control within the shortest possible time."

Pakistan Radio, January 10, 1964 said :

"Official circles in Karachi today expressed surprise at the statement of a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs regarding alleged happenings in Khulna. A foreign office spokesman observed that the statement based on fictitious stories was a crude attempt to divert the attention of the world from the sordid happenings in Kashmir where atrocities continued to be committed on helpless Muslims. The spokesman also said that India was trying to cover up the cruelties and injustices imposed on its minority population."

The Radio on the same day said in connection with Khulna riots :

"The East Pakistan Governor, Mr. Abdul Moniem Khan, has said India is trying to raise fictitious issues of alleged disturbances in Khulna, mainly to hide the communal riots and atrocities on the Muslims of Calcutta. He was telling newsmen on his arrival in Karachi last night from Dacca.

The Central Communication Minister, Mr. Sabur Khan, who arrived in Karachi las night from Dacca, described as monstrous lie, Indian Press reports alleging heavy losses of property and life in recent incidents in East Pakistan. He said the people were satisfied with the lightening speed with which the situation was brought under control in the affected areas."

Pakistan Radio of the same date reported a big public meeting in Rawalpindi held to voice the indignation of the people at the Hazarat Bal sacrilege and subsequent attempts of Indian authorities to substitute the Holy Relic. It passed a resolution calling upon the Government to take immediate steps for the protection of lives, property and honour of Kashmir's Muslims and demanding the setting up of an impartial U.N. Commission to probe into the atrocities being perpetrated by India on the people of Kashmir.

It is difficult to understand that, if nothing had happened excepting a demonstration by Muslims, what is the situation to which Mr. Sabur Khan was referring, as well as what he means by affected areas.

On January 10, 1964, Pakistan Times, referring to the Indian Home Secretary, who had earlier gone to Kashmir in connection with the further investigation of the theft, says :

"Indian Home Secretary Mr. Vishwanathan who is personally directing operations against the Muslim population etc.

The reliable sources said, the Home Secretary had been sent to Srinagar by the Indian Government not to expedite search for the lost hair of the Holy Prophet but to plan persecution of the Muslim population. Observers here saw a planned Indian conspiracy to evict Muslims from Kashmir."

Similar statement appeared in Morning News, January 11,1964.

It may be noted that this is said 5 or 6 days after the actual recovery of the sacred relic,

On January 11, 1964, Pakistan Times again in banner headlines announced :

"Nine killed and 75 injured in Srinagar"

"Police open fire at public meeting"

In the body of that news item it stated that 9 persons were killed and 75 injured when police fired indiscriminately on a public meeting.

"The report stated that Srinagar has never witnessed such wholesale and indiscriminate massacre of Muslims, who had assembled at the meeting to express their resentment against Government which was responsible for the sacrilege of the Holy Hair from the Shrine of Hazarat Bal."

We might state that from the enquiries, which we have made, no such incident appeared to have happened at all.

While the Pakistan leadership, newspapers and Radio had said that nothing whatever had happened in Khulna, no reports appeared of the large scale looting, arson and killing, apart from abduction and rapes in Khulna district, the atrocities continued unabated. The incidents in Calcutta led the Pakistan Government to call attention of the High Commissioner to the fact that these events were causing great indignation among the people of Pakistan.

Pakistan also regretted that India had not taken any measure to control the situation or restore a sense of security and confidence among the Muslim minority. They expressed regret over the statement of the Indian Home Minister Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda on Khulna incidents. The statement of Mr. Nanda referred to the influx of refugees in India as a result of the happenings in Khulna.

Pakistan Times, January 12, 1964 :

"East Pakistan Government also lodged the strong protest with the Government of West Bengal today against the current communal disturbances there. The protest note urged the Government of West Bengal to take immediate steps for the restoration of law and order to the areas where violence on Indian Muslims has, of late, been let loose."

Dawn and Pakistan Times, January 13, 1964, reported :

"Mr. Sabur Khan had stated that the killing of Muslims and destruction of their property in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal showed that so-called secular India had abandoned all values and let loose

mobs killing innocent Muslims. He also stated that the killing of Muslims in Calcutta was a grave **provocation** to Pakistani Muslims. He expressed the gratitude to East Pakistani Muslims for maintaining law and order."

Pakistan Times, January 13, 1964, quoted **Mr. Bhutto, the External Affairs Minister,** as saying :

"The Indian Government was not only committing atrocities on Muslims but had also hurt the religious feelings of Muslims throughout the world. Over five hundred communal riots resulting in the loss of several thousand lives of helpless and innocent Muslims had taken place in India so far. He charged that in view of the current atrocities on Muslims in "Occupied Kashmir" and West Bengal, the Indian Government was not honest and sincere in ensuring the lives and properties of 50 million. He described the attitude of the Indian Government as shameful and pitiable."

Mr. Bhutto also said that : "Indian Government had no right to stay in power."

Similar report appeared in Morning News on the same date.

Dawn, reports Mr. Bhutto :

"Asking India to stop carnage."

Nai Roshni, Karachi, published on January 13, 1964 a Dacca despatch under 7 column headlines :

Massacre of Muslims started at the instance of Indian Cabinet Miniter.

Sri Rampur, Howrah and 24 Parganas attacked by Hindu goondas.

Innumerable Muslims Martyred.

After Bengal, Muslims in Bihar, Assam, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh also attacked.

25 Muslim villages burnt.

31 Mosques destroyed.

Police fired upon Namazis.

It proceeds :

"public circles in Dacca say that Government of India made an unholy plan of the massacre of Muslims in India about 6 months back and Calcutta was chosen as

the first target under the plan. The Indian Press has played a vital role in the implementation of the conspiracy to massacre Indian Muslims in West Bengal.

"Indian Central Ministers also instigated Hindus against Muslims. Pandit Nehru's successor and India's Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, instigated Calcutta Hindus for the massacre of Muslims there. The knowledgeable have related that India has planned this holocaust of Muslims at Calcutta to suppress the Kashmir Muslims."

Mentioning Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as Nehru's successor was an intelligent anticipation because Mr. Nehru was alive at that time.

Pakistan papers also, while completely ignoring what had happened in East Pakistan, published highly exaggerated reports of the happenings in Calcutta.

On January 13, 1964 when attacks on Hindus had started in Narayanganj and other parts of Dacca District which we have dealt with in chapter 2, Part III, the President of Pakistan addressed a letter to the President of India, the report of which is found in Pakistan Times, January 14, under banner headlines:

'India asked to stop Muslims' 'Massacre'

The report goes on to say:

"Earlier this evening (referring to January 13, 1964) President Ayub presided over an emergency meeting of the cabinet to consider the situation arising out of the mass killings of the Muslims in Calcutta."

"It is reported that President Ayub Khan made an appeal to the people of Pakistan particularly those of East Pakistan to consider it their duty to protect the minority community and to maintain complete law and order which is the hall-mark of any civilized nation."

How these minorities were 'protected' is described in part III.

We give below in extenso the letter dated January 13, 1964, from the President of Pakistan to the President of India, the reply of the President of India dated January 16, 1964, and the reply of President of Pakistan dated January 21, 1964.

Message from President of Pakistan to President of India dated January 13, 1964.

My Government has been receiving very disturbing reports about the communal situation in Calcutta in particular and in the neighbouring districts of 24 Paraganas, Hooghly, Howrah, Burdwan and certain other areas of West Bengal. According to our information, the situation in Calcutta is virtually out of control. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. P.C. Sen, in a public statement issued yesterday, appears to have admitted as much and has taken a grave view of the situation. According to him, the Indian Army was immediately taking over administration of five areas in the city and "military rule" would be imposed in six more areas when more troops had flown in. There are reports of widespread killing of Muslims and numerous cases of arson involving Muslims' property both in Calcutta as well as other areas already referred to. A foreign news agency report today puts the number of dead so far at 200 and the number of cases of arson reported from Calcutta yesterday alone at 200. Unofficial estimates put Muslim casualties and damage to Muslim property in Calcutta and outside at very much higher figures.

Some indication of the extent to which the Muslim community has been terrorised by these senseless acts of killing, looting and destruction may be had from the fact that yesterday alone fourteen thousand Muslim refugees crossed from the neighbouring West Bengal into East Pakistan and number has since risen to over twenty thousand.

The East Pakistan Government has taken and is determined to continue to take every measure possible to maintain order but you will appreciate that a mass influx of terror stricken Muslim refugees spreading out into various districts of East Pakistan with their tales of woe could precipitate a very serious law and order situation for the East Pakistan Government. I have issued an appeal to the people of Pakistan emphasizing the supreme need for maintaining communal peace in spite of anxiety and provocation that recent events in West Bengal may have caused in East Pakistan.

I cannot help feeling that in thus taking law into their own hands with a view to driving out of West Bengal into East Pakistan certain elements in the majority community in West Bengal have drawn encouragement from the policy that the Government of India has been following over two years, despite our protests and appeals, to drive out Indian Muslims living in districts bordering East Pakistan. The number of such refugees who have registered themselves with East Pakistan authorities had by the end of December already reached 95,613. To this number have now been added 20,000 terror-stricken Muslims who have crossed over into East Pakistan from riot affected areas in West Bengal,

I am sure you will recognise the gravity of the situation which has been creating anxiety for my Government and I

trust that your Government will take effective action immediately to restore order and peace in West Bengal such as would create a sense of security in the minds of the Muslim minority and enable these refugees to return to their homes. I have no doubt you will agree that this will be in the larger interest of both India and Pakistan.

Reply by the President of India, dated January 16, 1964. to the message received from the President of Pakistan, dated January 13, 1964.

1. I have received your message of the 13th January through our high Commissioner in Pakistan. My Government deplores the disturbances that have taken place in West Bengal as well as those that took place earlier in Khulna district and elsewhere in East Pakistan in which there was widespread lawlessness, causing arson, loot and much loss of life and property to the minority community. According to our information, nearly 200 lives were lost in the Khulna riots, and the disturbances are still continuing in many places in East Pakistan, the latest being those at Narayanganj and Dacca.

2. My Government is fully conscious of its responsibility for maintaining law and order and for affording protection to all sections of its population on the basis of equality, and has taken the most energetic measures to bring the situation in West Bengal under control. The situation in Calcutta, certain parts of which were affected, and elsewhere, has now returned to normal as a result of firm measures taken which will not be relaxed till complete normalcy is restored.

3. The figures of casualties reported to you are obviously exaggerated; it is also not correct to say that military rule has been imposed in certain areas of Calcutta. The military were called in substantial numbers as a precautionary measure in the first instance, and when the situation worsened in certain parts of Calcutta, they were given the responsibility of restoring order, without any diminution of civil authority. My Home Minister, who has just returned from Calcutta, has made a statement which you may have seen and which I am asking our High Commissioner in Karachi to transmit to you. A hundred and fifty persons, including large numbers of non-Muslims, lost their lives, the latter mostly during police firing. The sternest measures have been taken. The police and troops are unhesitatingly using force againt those trying to disrupt the peaee. Several thousand arrests have been made by way of preventive action. At several places collective fines are being imposed as a punitive measure. The response to the appeal made by the Home Minister in Calcutta for co-operation by men of goodwill among all communities has been. good and peace brigades are functioning. The Home Minister has reaffirmed the determination of the Government to take the strongest possible measures and to afford the fullest protection to all citizens. Many people who had left their homes are already returning and many leaders of the minority community met the Home Minister and conveyed to him their sense of reassurance.

4. I welcome your statement appealing to the people of Pakistan to maintain calm. I am glad to learn of the East Pakistan Government's determination to maintain order. I also understand your concern caused by the influx of refugees from West Bengal, though here again the figures reported to you are grossly exaggerated.

5. I must confess to you our disappointment at your own statements on the unfortunate theft of the Holy Relic from the Hazaratbal Mosque in Kashmir, which was a matter of sorrow for the entire people of India, and was severely condemned by my Prime Minister and myself. Your Foreign Minister's statement in this context was particularly unfortunate. Without a shred of evidence the theft of the relic was attributed to Hindus and a communal turn to the Hazaratbal incident was thus given in Pakistan from the beginning. The Pakistani Press started the most virulent tirade against India and did everything to rouse communal passions to an uncontrollable pitch. While the emotions of the people in Pakistan over the theft of the sacred relic were understandable, I am constrained to observe that irresponsible and unrestrained statements and accusations against India and the false cry of Islam in danger had the inevitable effect of inciting the Muslim population of East Pakistan to take revenge on the Hindus still living in Pakistan. A mob of 20,000 which was allowed to form procession and indulge in violent demonstration, broke loose and started a reign of terror in Khulna and neighbouring areas lasting for several days in which the minority community in East Pakistan from all accounts suffered grievously. It is the serious incidents in Khulna which led to the influx of refugees from East Pakistan and started the vicious circle and resulted in the disturbances in West Bengal.

6. My Government rejects in emphatic terms the thesis advanced that the disturbances in West Bengal are a part of the plot to drive out Indian Muslims living in West Bengal into East Pakistan. India is a secular State and the home of over fifty million Muslims as well as of several million citizens professing other faiths. The policy of the Government

of India has always been directed to the fullest realisation of the secular ideal and to the creation of a society in which all its citizens enjoy equal rights and equal protection of the law, Despite difficulties. and those too not of our making, my Government have relentlessly pursued this objective.

7. You have, in your message, mentioned specific figures of refugees who have allegedly gone from West Bengal into East Pakistan- These evidently must include in large part Pakistan nationals returning to Pakistan in recent months, who had illegally entered into areas of India bordering East Pakistan without visas or permits from the Indian Government who, under well established international law and practice, had to return to Pakistan. The Pakistan Government in spite of repeated requests by the Government of India have done little to prevent the illegal entry of Pakistan nationals into India. The population of our border districts in Assam and Tripura and West Bengal has been abnormally inflated as a result of the influx of such persons. As you are aware, this matter is separately under discussion between our two Governments. On the other hand, the influx into West Bengal of members of the minority community from East Pakistan, which has continued unabated ever since the partition of India, is a matter of history. The number of such refugees, who have been obliged to flee their ancestral homes in distress because of fear and lack of sense of security is well over four million.

8. My Government has observed with deep regret and dismay the virulent camqaign against India that has been carried on in the Pakistan Press and on the Pakistan Radio in recent weeks. Even yesterday's newspapers in West Pakistan had the most irresponsible and mischievous headlines disseminating entirely false account of the Calcutta disturbances. I hope that Your Excllency and your Government will do their utmost to end the tension and disturbances in East Pakistan and to instil into the minority community a sense of security and well-being. In particular, I hope that Pakistan leaders and the Pakistan Press would exercise restraint in their utterances and would do or say nothing to incite communal passions. This is of the utmost importance to both our peoples

9. It is my sincere belief that the time has come when our Governments should put their heads together and devise ways and means of bringing to an end the recurring cycle of such incidents and disturbances in both countries. These not only poison the relations between our countries, but affect the lives of millions of persons who seek nothing but to live as good citizens in their respective countries. I suggest to you, Mr. President, in all earnestness. that we direct ourselves immediately to this task. As a first step I propose that you

and I join in an immediate appeal to the people of our two countries for communal peace and harmony. If you are agreeable, my High Commissioner will submit to you a draft of such a joint appeal for Your Excellency's consideration.

Text of Pakistan President's reply dated January 21. 1964 to our President's message of January 17, 1964.

"Thank you for your message of January 17th which reached me on 18th morning while I was on tour.

You have questioned a number of statements contained in my message of January 31. I regret I am unable to accept information supplied to you or contentions based on those premises. However, I do not wish to enter into a controversy at this unfortunate stage of our relationship. It would, I think, be most unfortunate if you and I should get involved in an exchange of recriminations. This would deflect attention from our real purpose.

This purpose is that lives and property of minority community must be fully protected, that communal peace must be maintained and that minority community must be looked upon as a hostage. By blaming, and thus impliedly condoning communal killings and destruction in one country on similar instances in the other, we might unwittingly lend encouragement precisely to those evil forces which it is Government's duty to curb. Most of Mr. Nanda's public statements of 11th and 14th January to which you have referred are unfortunately marred by this blemish and I was hoping that you will take a more objective and dispassionate view.

What is really needed is that whatever steps are necessary should be most urgently taken to restore law and order and mete out deterrent punishment to criminals who have been responsible for killing innocent men, women and children.

We are, Mr. President, faced with a grave human problem. It will not be solved by shutting our eyes to it as for example Mr. Nanda's statement that on January 14th "absolute communal harmony prevailed in Calcutta". Nor can we solve this problem by blaming others for creating it. Let leaders in each country look into their own hearts and resolve to put their own corrupt groups and house in order.

You suggest that you and I join in an appeal to the peoples of both India and Pakistan for communal peace and harmony. As you know, I have already issued an appeal to my people. I took the earliest opportunity to do this. I do not see how a second appeal by me would have any greater effect. What is required is that stern measures are taken

against those miscreants who are responsible for recent incidents and (groups corrupt) and prevent trouble from spreading. This is what Government of East Pakistan are doing with full backing and support of my Government.

I do not presume to advise you on whether or not you should issue a similar appeal to your own people. That is a matter for you to decide. I may, however, reiterate my hope that your Government will ensure that law and order is quickly restored in all riot affected areas and that those who have been driven out will be enabled to return to their homes and live with a full sense of security. I reiterate that this would be in the best interest of both India and Pakistan.

In the last paragraph of his letter the President of India has suggested that both the Presidents should jointly make an appeal to the people of both the countries for communal peace and harmony.

By the time the Pakistan President sent a reply on January 21, 1964 terrible atrocities had taken place in Dacca District. The news about the terrible happenings had been carefully shut out from the world. The President of Pakistan in his reply makes no mention of those happenings, but declines to have any joint appeal or joint collaboration between the two Governments and says, referring to the appeal which he had issued on January 13, 1964, that he had already issued an appeal to his people. By January 14, 1964 the situation in Calcutta and nearby areas had been restored to normal. Yet the President of Pakistan reiterates his hope that the Indian Government will restore law and order quickly.

The attitude that the Pakistan authorities had assumed by saying that nothing whatever had happened in East Pakistan remained unchanged.

Mr. Trailokya Nath Chakrabarti, popularly known as Maharaj, is about 75 years old and was born and bred in the areas of East Pakistan. He was one of the revolutionary leaders during the British regime and spent 30 years in British jails during the struggle for independence. After Partition he decided to make East Pakistan his home. In view of the attitude of Pakistan authorities almost completely denying that anything untoward had happened we think it would be relevant to set out here a portion of the letter which Mr. Chakrabarti sent out from the refugee camp in Jagannath College in Dacca where he stayed during the atrocities in Dacca city. This letter was published in full in Hindustan Standard on March 19, 1964.

He says :

What has happened this time is not rioting which can occur only between two contending parties, but one sided attack, looting and killing. One side attacks and the other flees in fear of life. Those who have been victims of looting or have been killed ask "What crime have we committed since we do not dabble in politics, do no meddle with the activities of the people of the other community, do not quarrel with our neighbours, are citizens of this country, share its prosperity, sorrow or happiness, pay government taxes regularly, are loyal subjects ; then why should we be killed, why our houses should be looted and burnt, our children killed before our very eyes, our women folk dishonoured?"

Is there no remedy against it? Are we responsible for what is happening in some other country? When innocent people are killed on railway trains, buses and steam launches, why do members of the other community merely look on like silent onlookers? Why do they not stop the wrong-doers? Is not the their inaction an indication of their consent? If communal riots occur 17 years after Independence then who can guarantee that these will not occur in the future? Migration means immense suffering and even death for many Hindus, why then do they want to leave their hearth and home and property? Lack of security is perhaps the only reason.

Communalism is a social disease and implies lack of vision. The future of a country whose inhabitants think in terms of community and not in terms of a nation is indeed gloomy. Communalism will inhibit people from growing into a nation and as a consequence will be weak. One *crore of minorities out of five crores is a big slice of a nation which should be treated not lightly but seriously.

The full text of the portions relevant to the Dacca atrocities is appended as Appendix V.

Radio Pakistan, January 14, 1964 makes a brief mention of Narayangunj and states that the situation was under control. It says that Police had to open fire on rioters, some of whom were killed and others injured. It further states that some mills were attacked but the police intervened before any serious damage could take place. The Police and the East Pakistan Rifles are patrolling the affected area.

Pakistan Times, January 15, 1964 reports that on January 14, students of Dacca University had protested against the atrocities on the Muslims in West Bengal.

*10 million

Students went about wearing black badge as a sign of mourning. At the meeting that was held, India was accused of **genocide.**

The Dacca Municipal Committee asked the Government to suspend all the cinema shows and cancel music programmes of the Radio Pakistan as a mark of mourning. The Municipal Committee also described what was happening in India was **genocide** of Muslims and condemned the Indian Government for its wilful negligence in protecting the lives and properties of its citizens. The meeting also appealed to Government to deal with the grave situation and save the Indian Muslims. Dawn, January 15, 1964 also reports similar statements.

Pakistan Times of the same date reports that in Lahore meetings were held by the High Court Bar Association, the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Pakistan and Pakistan Inter-Wing Students Association where protests were made against the Indian Policy of **exterminating** the Muslim population. Resolutions were also passed to the effect that the present communal riots were only anothe· link in the Indian Governments' phased programme of complete extinction ɔf the Muslim Community living in India, which recalls to the mind the general massacre of the minority population by Hitler.

It may be noted here that at the time of partition the Muslim population in India was about forty million and the Hindu population in Pakistan was about 11 million. How true are the statements made by the Pakistan leaders and the press about the extermination of Muslims from India can be judged from the fact that the Muslim population in India now is about 55 million and the Hindu population in Pakistan has declined to 9 million.

In the same issue we find mention of a demonstration on January 14, 1964 in front of the Pakistan President's House against the killings of innocent Muslims in Kashmir. The demonstrators carried placards demanding positive action in Kashmir.

In other parts of the same issue the happenings in Calcutta have been referred to in more than one place and exaggerated accounts published. There is a leading article with the caption **Genocidc**, in which among other things it is stated :

"For six days now Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal have been aflame with communal frenzy. Hundreds of Muslims have been slain and their properties looted and destroyed.

As it ts, Indian leaders are frantically trying to blame the Calcutta massacres on the recent disturbances in Khulna. It is a deceitful attempt to justify the unjustifiable. The whole World knows that what happened in Khulna was nol more than a minor irruption of hooliganism which the authorities put down with a firm hand. Pakistan can indeed take pride in the fact that its treatment of minorities has all along been exemplary. In India, on the other hand, the Muslims lived in constant terror. In the last sixteen years there have been as many as 500 communal riots, many of them matching the scale and frenzy of the present upheaval in Calcutta.

It is worth noting that while the streets of Calcutta flow with Muslim blood neither the Indian President nor the Prime Minister had thought it fit to utter one word of sympathy for the victims or to condemn those fiends in human form who are spilling innocent blood."

This leading article apart from its being a further incitement against the Hindus contains numerous statements which are far from the truth. We might mention only one or two.

In India neither the Government nor the press had put forward the happenings in Khulna district as a justification for what happened in Calcutta and nearby areas. This is in contrast with the statement of the President of Pakistan in his letter to the President of India dated January 13, 1964 to the effect that a very serious law and order situation for the Government of East Pakistan would be created. It may be recalled that shortly after the trouble began the Indian army was called out to patrol the areas where trouble had taken place and where it may probably spread. This action of the Indian Government itself was seized upon by Pakistan to suggest that terrible things were happening in Calcutta and West Bengal.

Tameer, Rawalpindi, January 14, 1964 reports :
"Five thousand people killed in Calcutta riot'.
"Hindu goondas destroy full bustees of muslims."
"Thousands of houses burnt"

"Two hundred muslim women and children burnt alive at one place.

Pakistan Radio, January 15, 1964 states that the situation in Narayangunj was normal and similarly the situation in Dacca.

"Again in Pakistan Radio reports regarding the happenings in West Bengal :

According to neutral observers communal riots are neither accidental nor are they limited to that region only and that the riots were a part of a pre-planned plot which envelopes areas from Kashmir to Bengal, Assam and Tripura. The motive being to exterminate the Muslims from these regions."

In this connection we give below an extract from a signed editorial by Mr. Abdul Hamid Ansari, Editor of an influencial Urdu daily from Bombay 'Inquilab' January 15, 1964 :

"There was not a single leader, newspaper or Radio Station in Pakistan which had not been continuously emitting venom against India and making a display of false sympathy for the Kashmiri and Indian Muslims. Then on the basis of supposed excesses on Indian Muslims, propaganda was unleashed and the foolish and beastly attempt made to wreak vengeance on the Hindu minority in Khulna and Jessore."

The news of the happenings in Narayangunj and Dacca had not yet leaked out. In Pakistan Times January 16, 1964 while there is no mention of the happening in Narayangunj and Dacca, meetings and statements by various organisations and individuals are reported about the Calcutta disturbances.

Pakistan Radio, January 16, 1964 reported that the **speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Fazlul Kadir Chaudhari,** stated among other things that Muslims were being killed fanatically in India.

The very fact that Martial Law has been declared in some areas proclaims the extent of communal frenzy. Planned eviction and killing of Muslims prove beyond doubt that the authorities in India were determined to chase the Muslims out of the country.

Dawn, January 16, 1964 mentions :

"Gun attack on Muslim refugee camp."

Imroze, Lahore in bold headlines said :

"Death roll in Calcutta riots rises to 20,000.

Many goondas destroy hundreds of Muslim owned factories with Police assistance."

In a front page banner headline date—lined APA and Reuter Report appears as follows :

"10,000 Muslims camp destroyed with bombs.

Stenguns and machine guns freely used."

Innumerable Muslims Martyred :

"Food supplies to Muslim camps refused."

Anjam of Karachi on the same date gave the following headlines :

"20,000 Muslims killed in West Bengal.
Imminent danger to Muslims.
Massacre in Delhi, U.P. and East Punjab also."

Jang, Karachi, January 19, 1964 said :
"Police open fire on Namazis on Id day in Calcutta."

Anjam, January 20, 1964 publishes the following :

"Indian Government agrees to Ministerial talks after massacre of thousands of Muslims."

We do not know how responsible some of these newspapers are but we have no hesitation in saying that these statements were false and the only purpose seems to be to further inflame Muslims in East Pakistan.

It is necessary to state that the Pakistan leaders including the President keep emphasising the deportation of Pakistani Muslims from India.

During the last few years a large number of Pakistan Muslim citizens had illegally entered into West Bengal, Tripura and Assam. Since two years the Government of India, after making proper enquiries through a Tribunal, has been asking the Pakistan Muslims to leave India. This has nothing to do with anything that has happened after the Hazarat Bal incident.

In this enquiry and report, we are not concerned with these evictions nor with the allegations that under the guise of asking the Pakistani illegal entrants to leave, Indian Muslim citizens were being evicted. Since we are not dealing with these alleged evictions of Indian Muslims, we do not propose to go into the rights or wrongs of these allegations.

Pakistan Radio, January 16, 1964 reported :

"The East Pakistan Governor, Mr. Abdul Moneim Khan, has declared that the government will take the strongest possible measures to give protection to peaceful citizens and maintain law and order under all circumstances. He has called upon all right thinking people to help the authorities to maintain an atmosphere of peace and goodwill.

The Governor, who returned to Dacca this afternoon from Karachi, later told newsmen that some mischievous and unruly elements taking advantage of the general feeling of the Muslims over the incidents in Calcutta had

made an attempt to take the law into their own hands in parts of Dacca and its neighbourhood. He said a few unfortunate incidents, involving both the communities have taken place. It appeared that certain anti-social elements have chosen the opportunity to molest the innocent people. Members of both communities had suffered at their hands.

The Governor said that the government is fully seized of the situation and is determined to maintain law and order with a firm hand. He said, to take full control of the situation and to prevent stray cases of vandalism, a curfew had been imposed south of the railway line. The police had been reinforced and together with the East Pakistan Rifles they were patrolling the affected areas.

The Governor said that the Army had also been called out to help the civil administration. Mr. Abdul Moneim Khan appealed to the people as true Pakistanis and followers of Islam, to protect the minorities. He has reminded them of the recent appeal made by President Ayub asking the people to help the government maintain law and order and give full protection to the members of the minority community.

Soon after his return to Dacca, the Governor reviewed the situation in the city and in the neighbourhood at a conference with the GOC East Pakistan, the Chief Secretary and the I.G. Police, and other officials concerned. The Governor has asked the officials to deal with the situation firmly and restore normal conditions in the shortest possible time. He has also issued instructions to the District and subdivisional authorities to take all necessary precautions to maintain law and order in their respective areas."

Pakistan Times, January 18, 1964 carries a news item under banner headlines :

"11 killed in Srinagar Police firing. 175 injured."

Pakistan Times of January 18, 1964 reports :

"Marked improvement in Dacca situation. Curfew to be relaxed."

It also mentions that the civil authorities sought army assistance to prevent breaches of the peace. It says that this was done due to **the apprehension of internecine clashes, since Muslims have also been attacked by the hooligans where they attempted** to protect members of the Hindu minority. It also reports :

"Dacca and Narayangunj are half paralysed for want of normal movement and traffic conditions but the situation remains under control.

Half of Dacca, the old part, is completely cut off from the new city because of the imposition of curfew from the first night of disturbances.

The trouble started at Narayangunj, where the Hindus coustitute a very large proportion of the loca l population. Some **Muslims** are reported to have been killed when a mill was attacked in the disturbances. There **have been instances of the Hindus using fire arms and killing the Muslims in Dacca.**

Most of the shops remained closed in the new town, main gates of banks were closed and the few persons coming to work entered from side entrances.

Similarly it states that the attendance in Government and non-Government offices was thin for the 4th day.

News papers and news agency offices are partially affected.

It also mentions the lifting of curfew in some parts of the district of Jessore.

How normal was the situation in Dacca is shown by the report by the Pakistan Radio on January 18, 1964 :

"After easing the curfew between 9 a.m. and 12 noon the curfew was re-imposed for 20 hours."

"Similarly orders under section 144 were made in Dacca Municipal area and the entire region of Tejgaon police station."

Similarly in Narayangunj curfew was withdrawn for a few hours but was re-imposed.

On the next day also after relaxing curfew for a few hours it was re-imposed both in Dacca and Narayangunj area (Pakistan Radio reports on January 19, 1964).

Pakistan Times, January 20, 1964 refers to a statement made by Mr. Nanda that 4 million non-Muslims had migrated from East Pakistan because of the lack of the sense of security among the minorities. Mr. Sabur Khan says that this statement indicated that the Indian leaders had made psychological preparation for liquidating 4 million Muslims.

The figure which Mr. Nanda gave is the total figure of migration of non-Muslims from Pakistan after partition in August 1947 till the end of 1963. And our enquiries have shown that it is a correct figure. The figure of those migrating since January, 1964 to the end of December was about 850,000.

Pakistan Times, leading article on the same day bears the caption **UNWARRANTED.** This refers to the suggestion of the President of India to the President of Pakistan to make a joint appeal. Commenting on this, it says that the mischief lies in the assumption that both India and Pakistan are equally responsible for the blood, bath in West Bengal. The Indian authorities have been peddling the theory that the massacre of Muslims in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal was a reaction to the earlier hooliganism in Khulna. This is a malicious distortion of the truth. In the first place, **the riot** in Khulna was an unexpected offshoot of the people's indignation at the Hazarat Bal sacrilege. It was **not basically communal** in character and was strongly suppressed. It goes on to say that:

> "In Pakistan President Ayub made a stirring appeal to his people to refrain from communal violence as soon as he learnt that stray cases of rioting had occurred in Dacca and Narayangunj.'

We are constrained to say that distortion could not go further. The appeal of the Pakistan President had been issued before any incident took place in Dacca and Narayangunj. All along, after the atrocities on a large scale began in Khulna on the January 3, 1964 and which were still continuing, as we have pointed out, the attempt was to say that nothing whatever had happened in Khulna district. In any event the President of Pakistan had not one word to say about the large scale atrocities in which hundreds of non-Muslims lost their lives and millions worth property was looted and burnt.

Pakistan Times also reports that resolutions expressing grave concern and indignation over the **genocide** of Indian Muslisms were passed at all the principal Mosques after Juma Prayers.

Pakistan Radio on the January 20, 1964 stated that situation in Dacca and Narayangunj is fast returning to normal.

Pakistan Radio on January 21, 1964 reports :

> "The Governor Mr. Abdul Momeim Khan has said that life was fast returning to normal in Dacca and Narayangunj.
>
> He also says that the people who had sought refuge in the various camps should be encouraged to go back to their homes."

We find from **Pakistan** Radio reports the last mention of curfew on January 25, 1964, when it stated that curfew **was** still being imposed in Dacca and Narayangunj. Thereafter there is no mention of this.

We have quoted these statements from the Radio and the Press only for the purpose of showing that they have been saying almost from the commencement of the trouble in Dacca and Narayangunj that everything was normal. Of course there has at no time been any mention of the situation in other districts which was far from normal since January 3, 1964.

When the Indian Radio mentioned, quoting Reuter, that 1,000 persons were killed in recent disturbances in East Pakistan and that 500 persons out of these were killed in Rayer Bazar alone and that 600 bodies were seen in the Dacca Medical College Hospital, and that a train was stopped at Tejgaon near Dacca and that 400 persons were stabbed, a press note was issued by Pakistan Government describing these figures as fantastic, completely baseless and false. It was also stated that there has not been a single incident of stabbing in trains.

From the evidence that we have in Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills No. 2 alone a large number of persons were killed and in the villages round about and other areas of Dacca alone the casualties must have run into a few thousand.

As for the admissions in the Dacca Medical College, we have quoted in Part III, Chapter 2 from the statement of one of the witnesses who was a nurse in that hospital at the time of the atrocities. Also the evidence before us shows that there was a large massacre of Hindus in Rayer Bazar. We have also cited the statements of persons who were dragged out of trains and also of witnesses who saw this. Apart from this, the massacres in Khulna, Mangla Port and the villages in Khulna district, all of which were affected must have also run into thousands.

It may be noted that a Peace Corps American nurse was reported to have said practically the same thing as the nurse we have referred to. She was later made to recant.

The Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi in a Press Note described Reuter's information as a pure fabrication and stated that the number of killed of both communities did not exceed 150 including those killed in Police firing.

Pakistan Times, January 27, 1964 reports that resolutions were passed in the mosques in Hafizabad condemning genocide of Indian Muslims.

On January 29, 1964 the **Indian Home Minister** issued a statement in which he said "In the circumstances which have arisen, the conditions for the grant of migration certificates on compassionate grounds would have to be eased in the case of members of the minority community in East Pakistan, who seek to come to India, because they are living in conditions

of extreme peril and insecurity and in the existing conditions, it has become impossible for them to stay in East Pakistan.

This was severely criticised **by Mr. Habibulla Khan, the Home Minister, Pakistan,** as reported by Pakistan Radio, January 30, 1964. He described it as an unwarranted interference in Pakistan's internal affairs.

He stated that Pakistan regarded the minorities as a sacred Trust.

We have a few thousand statements from witnesses from all areas of East Pakistan. In these areas and particularly in Khulna and Dacca districts, killings, arson, rape and plunder on a large scale have been reported.

Every witness, however, has described the conditions in Pakistan even prior to the recent atrocities, and much more so after the atrocities. The conditions so described, briefly stated, were that Muslims used to lord it over Hindus and took away their properties whenever they liked Houses were entered into for this purpose, crops were cut, cattle lifted and women abducted and raped even in their own houses. These were frequent occurrences.

There are also numerous cases of forcible occupation of houses by driving out the Hindu inmates and forcible taking over of land.

Numerous witnesses have stated that there was no redress from the Police or even the higher authorities.

It will be relevant here to refer to the memorandum of 21 minority leaders of East Pakistan presented to the Governor of East Pakistan on June 2, 1964. Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutta to whose speech in 1952 a reference has been made in Part I, was one of them. Refering to the 1964 happenings they say :

> "The January, 1964 disturbance throughout the the province showed clearly that Civil Administration failed to protect the life and property of the minority community and completely shook the sense of security and confidence of minorities. Heavy exodus started again. Disappointment, despair and uncertainty, confusion, fear and feeling of helplessness seized the mind of the minority community. The unhappy relation between the 2 States also remarkably contributed to the deteriora-tion of the communal situation. Hundreds of people are leaving their hearths and homes for unknown destination.

> There is complete lack of sense of security in the minds of the minority community. Theft, looting accompanied by murder, rape of women, robbery, abduction, forcible cutting away of standing crops catching of fish, taking away of trees and other articles, dispossessing from land has spread in epidemic form, threat, intimidation, coercion, insecurity of movements, insecurity of travels in trains, steamers, buses and in rural areas where they are subjected to extortion of money and tortures are rampant and are nearly normal features of their life. The Union Councils and Commi-ttees have publicly announced that sale of movables and immovables including huts and trees have been prohibited by the Government. As a matter of fact, sale of immova-ble properties even for unavoidable and pressing needs have come to a standstill. The minorities are permitted to sell moveables on payment of heavy ransom to the antisocial elements. The Police and basic democrats barring a few are indifferent and in some cases hostile to the minorities."..................

It may be noted that the utter lack of security for non-Muslims and the acts of violence and bestiality against them are no different from those mentioned in the Memorandum submitted by minority leaders to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in 1950 and in Mr. Mandal's letter of resignation.

PART III

THE EFFECT

CHAPTER I

KHULNA DISTRICT

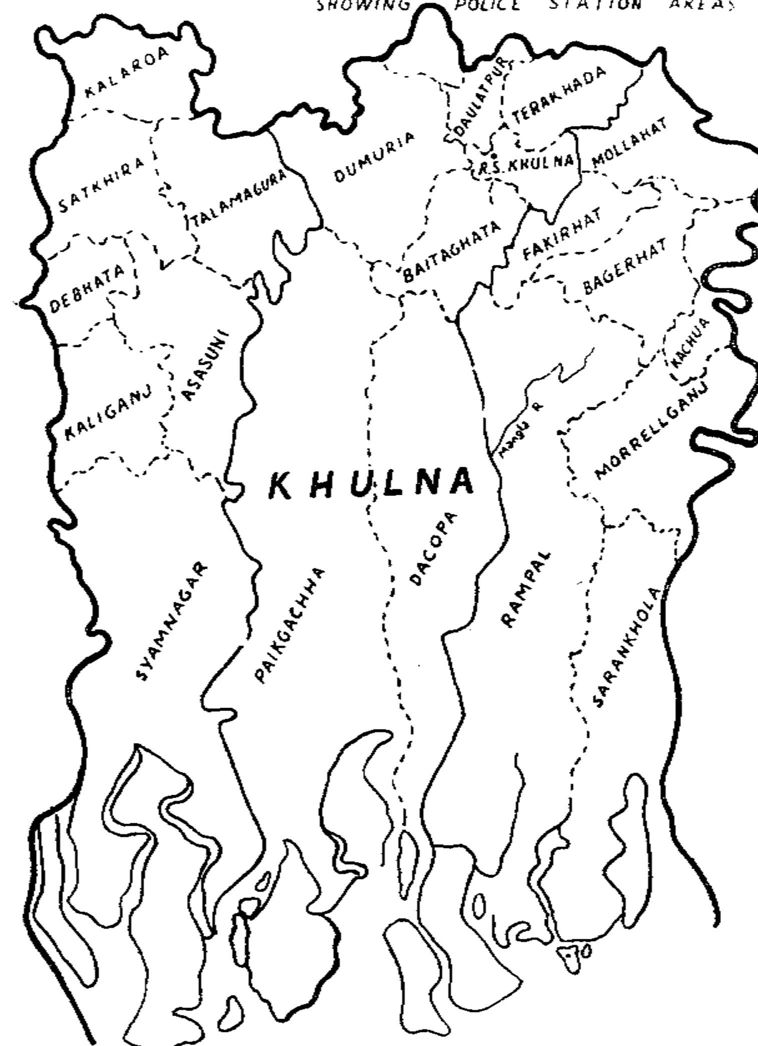
Khulna district is the South Western District of East Pakistan. Its Western border and the Eastern border of India coincide.

Mr. Sabur Khan, the Communications Minister of Pakistan hails from Khulna and has a house over there in the suburbs of Khulna town, which is the main town in that district. When the Hazarat Bal incident took place he was in Khulna and he became very active in organising protest meetings in many places in the district. At these meetings, as reported by several witnesses, he made speeches which were not only anti-Indian but also anti-Hindu. We shall be quoting briefly from the evidence of some of the witnesses who heard him. The last meeting that he addressed was at Daulatpur, an industrial area close to Khulna town on January 3, 1964. Immediately after the meeting ended, thousands of workers who attended the meeting spread out in various directions and started indiscriminate assaults, some of them murderous, on Hindu. They also went on an orgy of looting and burning of Hindu properties. For about 4 days this went on unchecked and even when the army was called out they had orders only to patrol but no orders to shoot. The police was all the time completely inactive and the atrocities went on in their presence. The attacks were not confined to the Khulna town. All over the district similar attacks were made from the next morning suggesting a certain amount of pre-planning. In these attacks hundreds of Hindu men, women and children were killed, Hindu temples were desecrated. It is impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the loss of Hindu property as a result of plunder and arson. The abduction and attacks on women also were numerous.

Khulna being contiguous to India, this srarted a wave of migration towards India which is still going on.

MAP OF KHULNA

SHOWING POLICE STATION AREAS



We shall now deal with the evidence of some of the witnesses concerning the happenings in Khulna town and other parts of the district and later on in practically the whole of East Pakistan.

We shall first deal with the evidence regarding the part played by Sabur Khan as described by many witnesses. According to these witnesses even before the large scale attacks began on January 3, 1964, Sabur Khan had been threatening Hindus with dire consequences if they did not vote for his nominees in certain local elections.

Ajit Kumar Ghorami, K 475, Baijo

"Before the riot, district council election was going on. Mr. Sabur Khan, the Minister came to our village and appealed to us to vote for his nominee Majid Mia. But the election result was quite reverse. Mr. Sabur Khan became furious and came to our village and threatened us that no place for Hindus will be possible in Pakistan. After a few days riot broke out.................."

Manoranjan Sarkar, K 476, Gorkhali

"The nominee of Mr. Sabur Khan, the Pakistan Minister lost in our area in an election. Being furious Sabur Khan threatenod us with the worst consequences. The riot broke out after a few days."

Prafulta Kumar Gil, K 468, Chamkuri

"Chairman, Union Board, said that Hindu population of Dakup P.S. will be treated like rats because they did not vote for Sabur Khan, the Minister of Communications."

Witnesses have also referred to the forcible occupation of large plots of land belonging to one Rup Chand Biswas by Sabur Khan and the litigation which resulted from this. It is stated that when Sabur Khan lost in the courts the immediate result was the burning down of the house of Rup Chand Biswas, who was his next door neighbour.

Ajit Kumar Ghorami, K 475, Baijo

"Mr. Sabur Khan some years back forcibly occupied the land of Shri Rup Chand Biswas, a Hindu land owner of Matekhali village. The land was about 30 bighas. During the last 4 years, he erected 3 storied building and furnished it. Case was instituted against him. The Court decided against him. Thereafter one morning the house of Rup Chand Biswas

was burnt to ashes. The nearby houses of other Hindus were also burnt. The riot began thereafter throughout Khulna District."

Arbinda Kumar Roy, K 852, Bilpabla

"Sabur Khan had forcibly occupied the land of Rup Chand Biswas 4 years ago and erected palatial building on that plot of land. Case was instituted against him. The court decided against Sabur Khan and decreed Rs. 1,35,000. Sabur Khan approached Rup Chand for setlement but nothing came out of it. Sabur Khan organised meetings regarding theft of Hazarat Bal. Thereafter the attacks on Hindus began."

Ganesh Chandra Roy, K-1035, Santipur

"I learnt about the case instituted by Rup Chand Biswas. Sabur Khan lost the case. So people were instigated to start assaults on the ground of the lost relic of Hazarat Bal The whole of the locality of my village and nearby was burnt. I hid in Khulna for 3 days."

Similar statements have been made by K-1028, K-1229 and K-1315.

We shall now refer to the statements of some of the witnesses, who mention their attendence at the meeting which were addressed by Sabur Khan and others, in connection with the protest against the theft of Hazarat Bal.

Rabindra Nath Saraswati, K-334, Buridange, states that he attended 3 meetings held by Sabur Khan in Rampal where anti-Hindu feelings were fomented. Leaflets, in which Hindus were warned that there would be terrible riots in Pakistan and that all Hindus will be killed, were distributed. It was stated in these leaflets "Leave Pakistan immediately. You have no right to stay here."

He also states that the police also fomented such feelings by saying "Kill the Hindus and take their property. Don't burn property or what will you live on."

Jaya Bandhu Adhikari K-340, Simartola, states Hindus were told "Sabur Sahib will show you what is the pleasure of living in Pakistan."

Birendra Nath Das, K-1067, from Khalishpur, an industrial area in Khulna Town, says that on the day of the strike few thousand workers from different mills in his area assembled in a meeting where speeches against 'Hindu conspiracy', regarding the theft of Hazarat Bal, were made. The men were well armed.

When they dispersed, they spread around the neighbouring localities and during the next few hours Hindu houses and properties in Senhati, Maheshwar Pasa, Pabla, Daulatpur, Chandani Mal and other areas were looted and burnt, and many persons were brutally assaulted and killed. The witness says that next day when he passed through Maheshwar Pasa, he found not a single house undestroyed. He adds that a week later many houses in Khalispur were set on fire.

Manindra Kumar Kirtania, K-1274, Tilok, says :

"At a meeting in Loppur Bazar, Sabur Sahib said he would make shoes with the Hindu skins torn from their back, incited full communal fury against the Hindus and did everything to excite the gang of Muslims who plundered and murdered covering a vast area inhabited by thousands of Hindus."

"I saw guns in the hands of miscreants supplied by Soleman Sahib, Chairman of Loppur who came to our village after ravaging Khulna Sahar (town)."

A week after the large scale atrocities had begun, Mr. Sabur Khan addressed a meeting at a place in P.S. Baitagata.

Raj Kumar Mandal, K 746, says :

"On the night of January 3, 1964, a large mob attacked and set fire to Hindu houses in the village. People started running and they were chased.

Quite a lot of persons got killed, others burnt to death. The mob was shouting with glee and also shouting the slogan of 'Jehad'. Many women were abducted, ravished and killed.

Among many, who were found dead from burns, were old people and children.

This continued for 3 days without intervention from the authorities though our place was only two miles away from Khulna town. Next day Sabur Khan, under whose connivence riot occurred was informed. He was entreated for police and military help but nothing happened.

We came back to the village after a week. Some of the houses were still smouldering. We were chased by Muslim goondas so we ran away again and did not return for the whole month. Later on I heard Sabur Khan speaking. He said nothing about the suffering and loss of the Hindus but said that he would see to it that even the leaves of the trees of the land said 'Allah'. He also said that he would see to it that Hindus did likewise."

Bishnu Pada Malik, JN 5, says :

"Sabur Khan, Minister, delivered inciting speeches to the Muslim mob at different places against the Hindus of Pakistan and India. In these speeches he used to say 'All Hindus will be forced to realise that even the tree leaves of Pakistan will proclaim the name of Allah and there should not be any Hindu in Pakistan."

Anand Mandal, K 396, Burbia (Kathakali) states that the whole of Khulna was flooded by anti-Hindu activities of Muslims incited by Sabur Khan.

Several other witnesses refer to similar statements made by Mr. Sabur Khan. A similar meeting was held and addressed by Mr. Sabur Khan at Daulatpur on January 3, 1964. The meeting was sttended by a large number of workers.

The Millhands of Daulatpur about 20,000 strong took out a procession after a meeting.

They obstructed rail and road traffic and went on beating up and killing Hindus on their way to Khulna town shouting slogans. They seemed to have reached the town about sunset and indulged in an unchecked orgy of arson and loot of Hindu homes and killing any Hindu who came in their way. Cases were also reported of abduction and rape of women fleeing from their homes along with their men folk.

The workers from Daulatpur also spread out in different directions working similar havoc wherever they went.

On January 2, 1964, Hindus, as a mark of mourning, were prevented from wearing shoes, using umbrellas or riding in rikshas.

Prafulla Kumar Biswas, K 1270, Laban Chora, says :

"On the day prior to the breaking out of communal riot in Khulna town, Hindus were not allowed to wear shoes, use umbrellas or ride in a rikshaw. This had to be observed as a mark of mourning for the loss of Hazarat Bal in Kashmir. I got the news of the planned riot in Khulna from a Muslim friend and left for Mangala port to stay with my uncle. I had actually jumped from the frying pan into the fire. Mr. Sabur Khan, we believe was at the root of all troubles. He was in Khulna during the riots for the marriage of his niece. What happened in Khulna was savagery let loose. He bitterly says, "What was a game to them (Muslims) was death to the minority community. Massacre of Hindus was a part of the marriage ceremony in Khulna."

Atul Kumar Roy, K 43

"I was working in a Jute Mill in Khalishpur on January 3, 1964. Other mills were closed. The Muslim workers left our mills and assembled on the road and were forcing people to get down from their carriages and take out their shoes."

Ajit Kumar Nandi, K 1047, Daulatpur, says :

"One day I went to office and heard that we will have to take off our shoes for observing the strike for the lost Sacred Relic of Hazarat Bal. I went back home and after sometime saw a processin going about the town shouting a slogan 'Kill the Hindus'."

Although the disturbances started on January 3, 1964, in Khulna town and nearby areas and from Mangala port and neighbouring areas on January 4, 1964, before the large scale attacks subsided, the whole of Khulna district was affected.

It is also clear from the evidence that hardly any attempt was made to bring the situation under control by the authorities. Soveral witnesses have also stated that they tried to get in touch with Mr. Sabur Khan, who was at his house at Laban Chora, a suburb of Khulna, where the marriage of his niece was being performed but to no purpose.

Among the witnesses who tried to get in touch with Mr. Sabur Khan, was Golpi Biswas, K 1303, an old woman of 70, of Laban Chora. She refers to the holocaust and states that Sabur Khan's house was nearby and that 3 telephonic messages were sent to him but without any effect.

Similar is the statement of a young woman, Champa Rani Biswas, K 1304, Laban Chora.

Ashwani Kar, K 1310, Laban Chora, states that at the time of the attack in his area by the employees of the ship yard, Dada Company, Isphany Company, Kata Company, etc., Sabur was present in the area.

Aravinda Kumar Roy K 852, says :

"Our village was just near the Khulna Town. We heard that Mr. Sabur Khan organised a meeting and the people, who attended the meeting, dispersed in two ways. After their dispersal the mob went to the different Hindu villages and set fire there. Mr. Sabur Khan engaged himself in a marriage ceremony in his house. Sri Arabinda Bhattacharya, a reputed pleader of Khulna, repeatedly rang Mr. Khan for necessary action, but he regretted his inability as he was engaged."

Several other witnesses have referred to the presence of Mr. Sabur Khan in his house in Khulna. (K 1047, K 1312, K 1315, K 1316. K 1317). It is significant that the havoc went on all round the place while the Communication Minister of Pakistan was busy celebrating the marriage of his niece. The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Moneim Khan, also attended the marriage and so did the Provincial Minister. Mr. Kazi Abdul Kadar, Member National Assembly and several members of Provincial Assembly and local officials and the elite of the town as reported by Morning News, January, 6, 1964. These various high officials were busy celebrating the marriage in Khulna while large scale attacks on the minority community were going on.

In Khulna Sadar area there was extensive terror and the stories told by the refugees are of large scale looting of Hindu houses and destruction by fire. There are also the same stories of wanton killing, raping of unfortunate women and destruction of Hindu temples.

Dhiren Biswas, K 1255, Harintala, states :

"In the first week of January, local Muslims with the help of workers of a match factory, attacked at about 8 p.m. At first they looted our houses and then set fire to them. We fled to another village, 4 miles away. When we returned after four days, we found that every thing was burnt." The witness has given the names of some of the miscreants and also the name of the persons among others whose houses were destroyed. He says that the whole village was burnt and gives names of 12 persons who lived near him, whose property was looted and houses were destroyed. He also refers to the kidnapping and rape and gives the name of the unfortunate woman. He states that she was taken away and returned after one day. The same incident has been referred to in K 1256, and K 1289. These two statements also corroborate the looting and the burning of the area.

In this area of Khulna Sadar, the evidence discloses that in all the places within that area the attacks started. Numerous witnesses speak of the attacks in their area where all the houses of Hindus were looted and burnt.

Rabindra Dhali, K 1229, Shop keeper at Khulna, says :

"It was 2nd January, 1964, just at 4 P. M. the Muslims started their actions against the Hindus. I was then at another shop and met the hooligans on the way. I was made bare-footed. I returned to my shop and took shelter in the house of the L. L. By that time the mob

reached that house. I again started for a safer place. The house I took shelter in was attacked at 6 P. M, L.L.. and Dhiren Ghosh were stabbed and his daughter-Lila (18)-unmarried-abducted. She was still untraced. I ran and ran and took refuge under the hyacinths in a pond, with a hyacinth in my hand. Darkness came down by that time. The Muslims could not follow me. Curfew was imposed at about 8 P. M. I got up. Then I went home. My three brothers were at work at Mangla Port. Two of them were killed at the Port. I came back to Khulna after 3 days and found that all my belongings in my shop were looted and destroyed. While coming to Khulna, two Goondas threatened me. Some Muslims at Khulna advised me to go away."

Nilmani Biswas, K 1280, Khulna, says :

"On Janbary 3, 1964, we heard shouts of 'Allah ho Akabar, Within half an hour the whole area was lighted up with fire. We and other people in our area fled and came back after a week. The whole area was gutted."

Snehalata Chandra K 1262, says :

"My son was working in M/S Dada Co .at Matiakhali. On January 3, 1964 at 3 P. M. he came back to the house and informed us that a procession was coming shouting anti-Hindu slogans from Dada Co. On that evening the Muslim mob attacked our area and we took shelter in a timber depot (Swami Singh Co.) at Matia Khali. The mob looted our house and burnt other houses I saw Natabar, my next door neighbour was cut down. with a sharp knife. His dead body was found on the main road."

Sanyasi Mandal, K 1200 says :

"About 250 men devastated the area and also looted. I know two men Natabar Biswas and his brother Netai Biswas were murdered."

Phani Bhushan Roy, K 1277, had a shop in Khulna. he says :

"I was returning from my shop when 3 miscreants attacked me and robbed me. When I reached my house I found it empty. Hearing that Hindus were taking shelter in Paddy fields, I searched for them and came back home and found that lot of Hindu houses were burnt. We took refuge in a village 5 miles away and returned to Khulna after a week."

Rajendra Nath Goyali, 1324, says :

"I was a taxi driver in Khulna. I personally saw two boats packed with dead bodies on the Rupsa river. My house was looted. I was slapped and a necklace from my wife was forcibly taken away. I left Khulna and went to my village Kali Shankar in Barisal. My land which I wanted to sell and come away to India, was forcibly occupied by Muslims."

Atul Kumar Roy, K-43, Bairagikhali. We have referred to this witness in another connection. The rest of the story is now given here.

He was working in the office of a Jute Mill in Khalishpur. On January 3, 1964, all the mills were closed excepting his but the Muslim workers of his mill had left and collected on the road. They attempted to attack the office premises but did not succeed. The witness went out for his meals in his quarter within the compound of the mills. When he returned to work at 1-30 P.M., the manager told him to leave the office as he apprehended trouble. When the witness got back to his quarter he found all the Hindu workers had left. He also left. On his way he saw fires in Khalishpur and Daulatpur. When he reached Jalma from where he saw fire in Khulna and the adjacent areas. Next day he reached his village in P.S. Rampal. People there had not heard about the happenings in Khulna and its neighbouring areas. At about 7 a.m, on January 5, 1964, the news, that Mangla Port area was badly affected and many Hindus were killed, reached them. They discussed with the Chairman of the Union Council and decided that Hindus would guard the river bank which they continued to do for 2 months. In the evening the village of the other side of the river was gutted and he says "We became helpless spectators. The burning continued next day also." On January 9, believing that the trouble in Khulna must have subsided, he went to Khulna. There he learnt that two of his room-mates had been stabbed and went to the hospital and there he found more than 40 injured patients which included women. When he went back to join work he found that all the Hindu workers had left their jobs and he decided to leave the job and come away to India.

Jitendra Sarkar, K-1323, says :

"I went to Khulna on January 3, 1964 by launch. When we reached Khulna at about 5 P.M. the passengers were divided into two groups. The Muslims were allowed to go but the Hindus were attacked. 22 out of the hundred were severly injured and their belongings were looted. Gangadhar Sikdar was killed. Then the launch authorities took us to Senapati. From there I went to Ajugora and found fires all around and shouting of Muslims through the whole night."

Haripad Bardhan, K-1305 Khulna. He says :

"On January 3, 1964 riots started in the evening suddenly. About 50-60 local men started looting all Hindu shops in the Bazar and in residential area. The biggest grocery shop "Ma Momsa Bhandar" was completely looted. Similarly all shops belonging to Hindus were looted. My house in Dalkhola area was attacked by 50 or 60 persons. We took refuge on the upper floor. The whole of the ground floor including my flat was looted. Terrible massacre occurred that night in Launch Ghat area. The river Rupsa was strewn with innumerable dead bodies. I saw in the market the dead body of the big merchant. He had been put in a gunny bag and it appeared as if the body had been pierced through the bag."

Mohander Dhali, K-768, Hogalbunia village, who was proceeding to Khulna, says :

I witnessed the riot, terrible mass killing by Muslim rioters at Khulna Launch Ghat on January 3, 1964 evening, when I arrived there in a launch from the village on a business visit. I was with Sushil Kumar Biswas, a doctor of my father-in-law's village, a rich man and Faik-Mia, a locally well known person, all the three travelling by 1st class cabin of the launch. It was 7p.m. when the launch hauled in and it was all dark in the town, which frightened us. We suspected some trouble and Dr. Biswas entreated the Muslim serang to take the launch to the other side instead of towards the Khulna shore. He refused and brought the launch to a halt at the jetty. We saw with a torch at least 50 men, all dressed in black pajama and black Punjabis with daggers in hand, waiting on the jetty to start killing of the Hindus who arrived there by launch. We were about 60 heads among other about 300 to 400 Muslim passengers. As soon as the launch stopped, they came up and asked all who were Muslims—men and women—to disembark. We wore lungis, for it was unthinkable to move in public in Khulna in Hindu attire, and could not be distinguished if not told. We begged Faik Mia to save our lives at any cost.

The rioters then started robbing Hindus of their belongings. Soon there was confusion, terror, flight and screams in the whole of the launch. We were on the deck railing from where I saw a few Muslims drag one

Hindu on to the jetty where they butchered him with a a dagger. This shook me so violently that I was at the point of losing consciousness. After a time, the riot in the launch on the lower Deck being somewhat calm, we got out and tried to go to the market through the Ghat-gate. There, in the diffused light, suddenly I saw lying all around innumerable dead bodies. I was at the point of fainting. And then came 2 notorious goondas of Khulna—Ajij and Mahasin—and Faik too, now, lost all hope for us. Ajij and Mahasin threatened Faik to leave us in their hands and abused him filthily for his siding with us, Faik begged them to spare us for we were much known to him, and took us again to the Upper Deck of the Launch. Some rioters came there and started snatching away things. I had a valuable wrist watch with me. One pulled at it. I tried feebly to protest when another cut me on the left side of the neck with a dagger. Had it not been for Faik again, who caught the dagger in motion, I would have been slaim their on the spot. I gave them the watch. Dr. Biswas and myself took off our clothes, jumped into the river with only under-wear and continued to float in the stream in dark river, hiding ourselves behind water-plants. Thus, we went for about 2 miles. We saw on the shores, village Laban Chore and Mathabhanja, burning furiously. We went thus for a good while, reached village Putimari, stayed with Nepal Roy of the village that night and returned to our village next day. I believe, that night on the Khulna Launch Ghat alone, Hindus numbering from 200 to 300 were killed. The river water. turned red and the water was full of dead bodies. For days afterwards, dead bodies were seen at every bund and curve of the river all through its course downwards."

He pointed out the cut on his neck to the investigator.

Balaram Gharami, K-204, Maheswaripur, says :

"On Friday at 4 p. m. I came out of Bagharhat P.C. College. I saw people closing down shops and running here and there. Came to Kalighat Launch Station. From Launch Station I saw fire and smoke coming out of Daulatpur village. People came running from that place and were crying out as "Babare Mere Mere Galam Bachau". Save us from being killed. In Kalighat at 7.15 p.m. I saw Muslims striking at one of the doctor's house and ultimately breaking the door, and looting the dispensary. The doctor along with his two daughters ran upstairs. Then the Muslims came to Kali Temple and broke one hand of Kali. At 8-30 p.m. I

wore a Muslim lungy and told my Muslim friend, a class-mate, to keep my books, trunk and other belongings and I came out with Rs. 2/- and asked a boatman to carry me to Bangaria. At Bangaria I saw about 15 Muslims running after one Hindu. They ultimately killed the Hindu by the side of the ghat. Then I came to one of the houses and took shelter. The next day in the morning I saw fire on all sides and heard shouting as 'Babare Mere Mere Galam'* while residing in Bangaria. I saw parts of human bodies were floating in the river."

K-1266 says :

"Our area (Sibbari) was attacked by large number of Muslims. People started running for shelter. I saw about 10 cases of murder. Many Hindu corpses were found floating on the river. Dead Hindu bodies were all over the streets."

Sona Rani Dutt, **K 1257**, says that her husband had a sweet-meat shop in Khulna Bazar. When Muslims started attacking people tried to run away for safer places. She also went away and returned after about 5 or 6 days and learnt on enquiring that her husband was killed. Muslims used to tell Hindus that if the good looking Hindu girls are not given to them, looting, arson, abduction and conversion would take place. She refers by name to four girls giving their ages, saying that the girls were abducted during disturbances and none was returned. She then started on her way to India, without any valid documents and she mentions that on the way the party which was proceeding towards the Indian frontier, was attacked by about 15 to 20 Muslims. The party robbed them of every thing and forcibly took away one girl of the age of 15.

For obvious reasons we cannot set out all the statements that we have from Khulna town area. Similar statements have been made by numerous witnesses. Some of these witnesses are Nos. K 330, 340, 415, 416, 1035, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1229, 1254, 1255. 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1281, 1284, 1285, 1287, 1289, 1291, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1304, 1310, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1316, 1317.

Even in Khulna town area witnesses have deposed to so many instances of molestation of women as well as rape. Women seem to have been particular sufferers during the disturbances and even at present many recent arrivals in India bring similar tales of attacks on helpless women.

*O, I am being killed.

Manindra Maudal, K 1259, from Bale Kumar area apart from deposing to burning and looting mentions that his wife Kamala and the wife of Dr. Falik were raped in the rice field where they had sought shelter. Witness Phani Bhushan Roy (K 1277) and Nirendra Nath Roy (K 1312) mention the incident of the abduction and rape of Dr. Falik's wife.

Shimanjini Rani Roy. K. 1299, a nurse working in the hospital says that there was a blaze all round the hospital. Then "I took refuge in the house of my brother-in-law. I heard that Muslims wanted to abduct me and therefore, I went to my father's house by a launch." She mentions that three girls were abducted from her father's village and gives the names of the miscreants.

Manindra Saha, K 1266, mentions the name of the daughter of a friend in Sibbari who was taken away for 2 days.

Manindra Kumar Kirtania K 1274, gives the names of two girls and says that they were abducted and raped and were found the following day unconscious in a field.

Mahendra Nath Haldar, K 1275, mentions that the wife of his brother-in-law was raped by Muslims. She had to be taken to hospital and had to stay in hospital for more than 12 days.

Nakul Ch. Mondal, K 1281, states that his own sister was raped. He also gives the name and address of the person who raped that woman.

We might mention that in numerous cases the names and addresses of the assailants have been given.

Kalidasi Biswas K 1295, a young woman mentions that her cousin was abducted. This was from Thutpara, a part of Khulna Sadar.

Manoranjan Biswas, K-1301, a resident of Khulna town mentions that his niece Saraswati aged 18 was abducted as all of them were running to take shelter. In the melee we heard shrieks of wom n. Goondas chased us and caught young women whom-so-ever they could lay hands on. He goes on to say that the dead body of his niece was found after two days from a paddy field. He adds she had severe biting injuries on her face, breasts and whole body.

Mahadev Ch. Haldar, K-1311, of Gilatala a part of Khulna town says that daughter of Nain Gopal Ash of our village was abducted from the house of her elder sister at Maheswar Pasa. She was compelled to live with the Muslims. Her father and relatives tried their level best to rescue her,

but they failed. After 15 days she was found in the Hospital. She was mercilessly raped by the Muslims.

Sarat Ch. Biswas, K-1315, mentions that his sister-in-law was abducted and kept for 5 days by Salam Master of Labanchora. She was returned after the persuation of the abductor.

R.S., K-1320, the wife of a person, employed in Pakistan Police, mentions the case of a girl of 15 who was taken away by some young men from the road. She says that till she left Khulna the girl had not been recovered.

Haripada Mullick, K-1322, mentions the case of a girl of 15 being taken away by, among others, Samsur Kagi, Chairman of the U.C, Subhoraria Union No. 7, in Shyamnagar, P.S. Abhayanagar Jessore.

There are quite a few cases of the abducted girls being forcibly converted and made to swear affidavits in court and later on married to the abductor. One of such instance is given by Kalipad Biswas who was serving in Khulna Court.

Kalipada Biswas, K-1258, of Sonadanga village says that Ashalata, daughter of Netai Dutta of her village, was kidnapped from the village. She was raped and converted into Muslim by swearing affidavit in the court forcibly. In their religious frenzy the mob attacked and destroyed several temples even in the town of Khulna. Witness says that the Khulna Dharamsala and Kali temple in the area of Sonadanga were destroyed.

Jatindra N. Biswas, K-1265, of Tutpara also mentions the destruction of temples. Similarly Manendra Saha, K 1266, of Sibbari mentions the destruction of Kali temple.

Panna Rani Sinha, K-1269, of Benakhamar says "Our Shiv Mandir was pulled down and Shib Linga broken."

Nakul Ch. Mondal, K 1281, of Tilok refers to the destruction of two Kali temples of Dilerpur, Naihata and Khulna Kalibari.

Similar statements are made by K-1291, K-1316 and K 1320.

Neighbouring areas of Khulna Town :

Daulatpur.

The trouble which began after the meeting at Daulatpur was not confined to the Khulna town area. It appears that there was preplanning which resulted in widespread terror

which started simultaneously in many areas. The villages round about Daulatpur were attacked and from the evidence that we have, hardly any village was spared. It is the same unfortunate story of loot, arson, killing, abduction, rape and destruction or desecration of temples.

It is not possible to refer in detail to the evidence of persons from different villages in P.S. Daulatpur. We shall, however, give a few instances and rest content with the numbers of other witnesses who mention similar incidents.

Prohladi Das, K-1329, from P.S. Abhaynagar, was in Daulatpur where she had gone to her uncle. She says :

"I was then at Daulatpur, Khulna, where I had gone to the house of my uncle, when Daulatpur was attacked by Muslims. Almost all the Hindu houses were gutted. We, about 3,000 in numbers, were given shelter in a Muslim house. At night that house was raided by the hooligans, when that Muslim told us to see our way as he had no power to control that mob. The mob broke open the house and assaulted many girls and killed many Hindus including some of my relations. I, with my child in my arms, took refuge under a heap of fuel in that house. The hooligans caught hold of my leg and tried to drag me out. But I protected myself catching hold of a wooden Pillar. At last they hit me with a sharp weapon. I cried out. They were about to do some more injury to me, immediately when the Police came and the mob dispersed I was taken to the Khulna hospital by Police where I was for about two weeks. Then came home. There was heavy tension in our village and all the Hindus were frightened. Nobody was able to protect anybody if there were any trouble. As such, I came to India for safety of life and prestige."

Ajit Kumar Nandi, K-1047, says :

"In the meantime the Barisal Express was detained at the Station and passengers were pulled out of it and were beaten. Kazi Jasim-ud-Din, who was travelling in that train, tried to convince them that it was not advisable to rouse the Bad Hats. He was ridiculed. I asked him to be my guest and took him along with me, to find my house burning. We went to another house which was strongly built and telephoned Sabur Khan to ask him to send help. He promised but no help came. The whole house was looted but the women were on the terrace guarded by Jasim-ud-Din. Police came the next morning after number of houses in the locality were looted and burnt."

Bijaya Sanjaya, K-1041, a woman from Daulatpur also mentions the procession and says that the house of the Zamindar Subodh Majumdar was raided and everything in it including musical instruments and magnificent pictures were destroyed. "We saw a great blaze all around the town. It was clear that the police, the Ansars and other agents of Government would not help us, but would join the raiders."

Rani Bala Paul, K-1040, Maheshwar Pasa, says :

"We saw that a blaze surrounded the railway line. Leaving all our properties and belongings we took refuge in the T.B. hospital. Many others also took refuge in that hospital. The Muslim doctor tried to help us but we could not remain there long and we had to leave."

Amulya Dutt, K-1045, mentions :

"There was a strike on account of the loss of the Relic. The workers of the Mill started setting fire to Hindu houses, shouting 'Hindus be destroyed'. We took shelter in the jungle and returned after three days."

Akhil Kumar Chakrawarti, K-1043, mentions the strike and says that he was sitting at his shop talking to some Muslims. The shop was closed from outside. About 25 Muslims from the shipyard with weapons in their hands, broke open the shop and asked if he was Hindu. On his admitting it, he was hit on the head with a rod and he fell down unconscious. It appears that he was also stabbed on his back and he showed the wounds to the questioner. He was in the Sadar Hospital for 45 days.

Laxmi Chakrabarty, K-1051, said that her house was attacked and at that time her husband was at his shop. The house was burnt and they hid behind some bushes. At about 8 p.m. she was informed that her husband was lying injured in the shop. Next morning they took him to the hospital.

Kshitish Chandra Das, K-1060 says that about 2,000 Muslim employees of Junglee (Sic Jubily) and Rissent (Sic Cresent) raided the area in broad daylight. The whole village was looted and gutted. The adjoining villages were affected. He mentions the case of a Muslim, Kesmit, who was murdered by the mob in trying to resist them. He mentions that 3 persons including 2 women were killed. He says that he, along with others, took shelter in a Muslim house.

Kalidasi Roy K-1055, Khalishpur says on January 6, 1964 at 10 p.m. large number of Muslims attacked her house and killed her husband by stabbing him. She was struck on the shoulder and her bangles were broken.

Similar incidents are reported from other villages round about Daulatpur. They are K-1036' K-1037, K-1038, K-1039, K-1042, K-1043, K-1046, K-1049, K-1050. K-1052, K-1053, K-1054, K-1056, K-1057, K-1059, K-1061, K-1062, K-1063, K-1064, K-1065, K-1066, K-1069, K-1326, K-1327, K-1328.

Several witnesses refer to cases of abduction and rape.

Kadi Dasi Roy, K-1055, says that her young daughter was snatched away. The daughter was recovered by the police after 3 days from Jessore. The girl had been ravished by seven or eight persons so brutally that she had to be taken to the hospital.

Nira Bani Singha, K-1056, the elder sister of the ravished girl, mentioned in the previous statements, corroborates them.

Besanta Gain, K-1062, mentions the case of the daughter of Kalidas Munshi being abducted and raped and kept by the Muslims and that all efforts to recover her failed.

Similar is the statement of witnesses Matilal Biswas, K-1063, and Laxmi Chakrabarti, K-1051.

It is worth noting that the two witnesses were in different camps when they were examined. The first one was in Turuvalli (Orissa) while the other one in Chandrapur (Maharashtra).

Amulya Kumar Datta, K-1045, Maheshwar Pasa mentions the names of three girls who were abducted and were not traced.

Several other witnesses have made statements of incidents of this nature.

Several witnesses depose to the destruction of temples.

(Statement Nos. K-1039, K-1042, K-1045, K-1052, K-1054, K-1060, K-1371 P.S. Daulatpur).

While large scale attacks in P.S. Khulna and Daulatpur began on January 3, 1964, the attitude of the authorities can be judged by what the DIG stated as reported in Pakistan Observer of January 4, 1964 and in the press note of the Government, also published on the same day, to which we have referred to in Part II.

Prafulla Sankar, K-747, says that he was in village of this maternal uncle when he saw the goondas looting and

burning the houses in the village. We sought safety in the nearby jungle. When I was coming to my village with my uncle and aunt I saw, while I was passing through village Benekhamar, 3 or 4 women lying dead on the road. Children, after being killed, were put on the bodies of their mothers. The breasts of many women were chopped off .

Similar statements of mutilation of women have been made by witnesses from different areas.

Pheli Biswas, K-742, an old woman of Rajbandha, says, "An angry mob attacked our village and the local Muslims also joined them. They looted and burnt Hindu houses. We left the village and took shelter in the jungle for 7 days.

Kumudini Mandal, K-744, Harintana says that an angry mob attacked her village on the 3rd January, 1964. "We left the village and took shelter in the village Salma, 3 miles off. After 3 days we came back to our village. They had looted our houses."

Manohar Gain, K-751, Rajbandha, says, "After attacking the neighbouring villages our village was attacked and looting and arson went on. Two men and one woman were hit with a rod. One man died instantly. The ear of another man was slashed off. They also ravished women. Next day we appealed to the Chairman and identified the culprits but instead of taking steps, he took to task the persons who went to report.

Sarat Chandra Mandal, K-756, Maithbhanga, says :

"My cousin brothers were employed at Mangla Port. They were murdered by the Muslims. Another cousin, a student in the last year of B.Sc., was thrown out of the steamer. He was found unconscious after four days at Sripadtala. He was severely injured."

Sudhir Kumar Roy, K-710, Hagalbunia, says :

"My brothers Atul, Sachindra Nath and Netai were employed at Mangla Port. They were living in the quarters inside the Mangla Port. One night, when they were sleeping, they were attacked. Atul and Sachin were killed. Netai escaped with serious injuries." Same incident is also referred to by Manohar Mandal, K-687, and Hiralal, K-713.

He also says :

"One day I was going to Khulna and I saw a girl of about 13 lying dead by the side of Gobaichakka High School. I saw 23 dead bodies out of which 4 were of women and 4 of children floating on the rivers Sailmari and Pashar."

Kartik Paul, K-692, Chara, says :

"My village was raided by a mob of about 1,000. Local Muslims also joined them. My uncle Kalipada Dhali was killed. Many Hindus were injured. I saw about 60 bodies floating in the river Pashar."

Gandhari Mandal, K-680, a young widow of 25 from Rajbandha says :

"One day two police constables entered my room and two remained outside. The two, who had come in, raped me. The other two also tried to but by that time I was almost dead, and began to cry out of pain. From next day I spent the nights in the fields."

Several other witnesses refer to the abduction and rape of two girls, daughter and grand-daughter of Ashutosh Chakravarti.

Gaur Hari Mandal, K-707, Sachibania, refers to the attack on the house of Ashutosh. He says, "One night, after the riot, some Muslims came to Ashu babu's house and tied up the male members of the family to the pillars of the house and raped [illegible]ymamati, daughter and a grand-daughter, of Ashutosh. They were both taken to the hospital and the daughter died after two days."

This is corroborated by No. **K-702, K-723, K-724** and K-726.

They mention the name of Mahmud Mohesin, the leader of the gang who perpetrated this.

Sudhir Kumar Roy, K-710, mentions the cases of Guru Dasi (16), wife of Haripad Mandal and Safala, daughter of Shrimant Mandal who were abducted by a gang of about a dozen Muslims. They were taken to a jungle where all of them raped them. The next day these girls were found lying unconscious in the jungle.

Janardan Mondal, K-711, mentions the names of three girls who were abducted at night from the village Gajali and remained untraced till he left Khulna. He mentions the cases of two other women who were similarly abducted and raped and after their recovery they had to be treated in a hospital.

Three witnesses of Hatbari (K-713, K-714 and K-715) mention the case of the daughter Rasik Dali (15) (name given) who was abducted by a gang of Muslims and raped and was found after one day. One of the witnesses Hiralal Roy K-713 is a grand uncle of the girl.

This incident is also referred to by Sarat Chandra Mandal, K-756, Moitbhanga.

Three witnesses K-751, K-757 and K-758 referred to the raping of the wife of Jadu Boar.

P.S Bogarhat. Similar incidents of loot and arson and rape have been mentioned by witnesses from various villages in P.S. Bogarhat.

We shall not deal in detail with these, excepting to mention the numbers of some of these witness. We shall only mention the numbers K-1070, K-1071, K-1074, K-1075, K-1077, K-1079, K-1080, K-1081, K-1083, K-1085, K-1086 and K-1087. We shall, however, refer some cases of rape.

First one is the case of the wife of Haripad Bose, K-1070, whose house was attacked by Muslims. The names of the assailants are Hajiz Saider and Tarabat Khan of villages Khalse and Afra.

Ratin Chakrawarti, K-1074, aged 18, Ambapara says that his house was attacked and burnt and his mother was abducted on January 16, 1964. He does not know what has happened to his mother.

Pulin Behari Biswas K-1081, village Saira refers to the case of the wife of Rohidas Mandal who was kidnapped from her own house, taken away to the jungle and raped. After a few hours she was recovered by the villagers.

Similar incidents are mentioned, among others, by witnesses (K-1082, K-1084 and K-1085).

P.S. Fakirhat. Similar incidents have been reported from different villages in P.S. Fakirhat by a number of witnesses.

We shall refer to three statements.

Sudhir Kumar Nath, K-920, Brahmanragdia mentions the case in which the village was attacked but the Chairman Nowab Ali Fakir came to the village accompanied by 5 or 6 persons, who fired on the mob and drove them away. He, however, says that when he was coming home from the market he was attacked and Rs. 442 which he had realised from the sale of betel nuts was taken away from him as also two rings.

Witness X, K-922, of village X says that when the attack started he was at his shop in the market. On January 3, 1964 when he heard a lot of hubub he went running to his house and found it ravaged. He also says that large number of houses were burnt. He states that he saw an old woman of 75, the mother of Jagdish Nath, his neighbour, who was trying to come out of the burning house, was pushed back and burnt alive.

This is one of the rare cases in which the police seems to have acted the next day by arresting about 18 or 20 local miscreants.

We are giving neither the name of the witness nor of the village because some of his people are still in East Pakistan.

Dinbandhu Nath K-923, Lakpur says that he saw a neighbouring village Khajuria, about ½ a mile away, burning. He says that the people of his village took shelter in the jungles that night. He went to Khajuria where his aunt was living and he found her dead on the floor of her house which had been gutted.

Nagendra Nath Singha, K-924, Khajuria refers to the burning of his village. He says that some Hindus went to the Chairman of the U.C. for help but he refused. He says that the police came the next morning but were not of much help and the attacks on Hindus and their houses started again.

Other witnesses who referred to similar incidents are: K-907, K-908, K-909, K-911, K-912, K-913, K-915, K-917, K-918, K-919, K-921 and K-925.

Sumant Mandal, K-914, mentions that the daughter of Nepal Mandal was ravished in such a manner that she died of bleeding.

P. S. Terakhada, Similar are the tales from various villages in Terakhada. We shall rest content with citing only some cases.

Ganoyada Roy, K-10, a woman from Patgati says: "Muslims used to enter our houses without permission. They took away whatever they wanted, abducted our women and cut paddy from our fields on some occasions. We had not been sleeping for three months. The villagers attacked on three occasions and the police was indifferent. We had no protection from the authority. Justice was out of question."

Another woman witness **Sourovi Dasi, K-1012,** 70, from Rammajli says :

"I was sleeping in my house. My sister-in-law also was there. When the village was attacked, we started running away but unfortunately I asked my sister-in-law to bring my box of valuables from our room. She did not return and she is still untraced."

Divijabar Sikdar, K-1014, Ajagmali says that on the January 6, 1964, Muslims burnt some houses and for three days they went on looting Hindu properties. The villagers used to keep Vigil. Police came and took away small weapons which the men had.

Anandu Biswas, K-1018, Kola Patgachi says :

"The Muslims attacked our village and resistance was offered. Our paddy stocks were on fire. Police sided with infuriated mob. For no reason our men were tortured by the Police."

We have already referred to K-1011. He also mentions the cases of two young girls Ulhasi Dali and Kankan Dali aged 15 and 12, sisters. They were snatched from their house, taken away and raped. Later a search party found them unconscious and they were treated in the hospital for one week.

Witness K-1024, mentions the case of a girl of 18, Desti. She was in the house along with her old parents. Miscreants attacked the house, locked up the parents in one room and raped her in the house. He mentions the name of the leader who perpetrated this.

Witness K-1025 also mentions the same incident and the name of the leader of the gang.

P.S. Kachna. Similar incidents have been mentioned by witness from villages in P.S. Kachna.

Maharaj Dhali, K-960, mentions the disturbances and says that he was forcibly dispossessed by the Chairman of the Union Council, Mohinuddin Seikh.

K-950 says that his shop was burnt and that Police wrongfully confined one of his brothers for 16 days. He says that all the nearby villages inhabited by Hindus were looted and burnt.

Sanatam Mandal K-953, mentions that the wife of one Kamal Nata was kidnappee by a gang of 6 to 7 persons, among whom were Rahen Shekh and Muskat Shekh. She was brought back by a Muslim Ahmed Sikdar after 3 days.

Satish Chandra Mandal, K-954, says that one night some policemen came to his house and he was asked to go outside as some case had been instituted against him. While he was taken out, the policemen inside the house raped his young wife. He also corroborates the statement of K-953.

Manoranjan Mistry, K-950, mentions the case of one woman (name given) being raped by 8 persons. He says "While the husband was away they entered the house and ravished her."

P. S. Dhumaria. P.S. Dhumria is adjacent to P.S. Khulna and Khulna Sadar. The eastern part of this P. S. is very close to Khulna town. The large number of atrocities have taken place in this area. These atrocities began on January 3, 1964.

Sanyashi Biswas, K-781, Gutudia says that his village was attacked and Hindu house looted and set on fire. The villagers took refuge in the nearby paddy fields. He says that this went on for four days mostly at night.

Gita Rani Malik, K-780, Krishnagar, says that her village was attacked and burnt and some persons were killed. She adds that it was impossible for women to get out of their houses.

Nalini Mandal, K-784, Krishnagar, also mentions the attack on the village and say that 3 persons were killed.

Similar stories are told by numerous witnesses whose numbers we shall mention. K-790, K-792, K-793, K-795, K-798, K-799, K-801, K-803, K-808, K-809, K-811 and 812. We shall now give a few instances, from among many, of rape.

K-780 referred to above refers to the case of a young woman (name given), his neighbour, who was taken away from the house at night. She came back later. She was injured so much that she had to be treated for 3 days.

Panchanam Biswas, K-846, Chingre says :

"On 3rd January local and other Muslims a few hundred, attacked our village, plundered and burnt houses. Some persons were killed.

Gour Mandal, K-848 says that his village Sibpore was close to the Baine Khamar area of Khulna town. They saw the whole village ablaze and the fire was burning for 3-4 days. He also says that many Hindus were killed.

We shall now give a few instances of rape.

Witnesses K-808, K-809, K-811, K-812 and K-830 all mention that attack on their villages and mention the case of one Ichhu Mandal who was abducted during the attack and who has not been traced.

Debu Biswas, K-791, mentions that his cousin's widow, aged 22, was abducted from her house. He also mentions the name of Karim Kazi, post master of village Guludwar as the culprit and says that she has not been traced. K-849 and K-845 also refer to the same incident.

Labmati Mistry, K-786, refers to the abduction of Basi Bala and says that she was taken away by 5 or 6 miscreants and was found next morning senseless and was so badly injured that she had to be treated in the hospital for 3 weeks. The same is mentioned by K-779.

Mahendra Haldar, K-795, Sarappur mentions the attack on his village and the abduction of two girls one being his sister-in-law (names given). His sister-in-law was not released by the miscreants and was forcibly married to a Muslim.

Sudhanya Malik, K-853, Ukhare mentions the case of three girls two of whom were abducted when they had gone to fetch water and one from her own house. He mentions the names of the miscreants as Abdul Barik, member of Union Council of the village, Afsuruddin Seik and Jammauddin Seik.

Mani Shanta Gayen, K-851, Singha says that his niece aged 15 was abducted by 10 or 12 armed Muslims. They entered the house of her father and when attempt was made to resist, they started firing. She came back after 5 days.

Kali Dasi Biswas, K-788, a woman of 40 from Chingri says that the honour of women had no value. The local Muslims, whenever they pleased, demand any woman they like and if refused by her relatives, they carry her off. She goes on to say that a girl of 10 was kidnapped on March 28, 1964.

Similar instances are to be found in K-779, K-780, K-783, K-785, K-786, K-788, K-791, K-795, K-797, K-801, K-802, K-808, K-809, K-811, K-812, K-819, K-821, K-830, K-834, K-843, K-844, K-845, K-848, K-849, K-850, K-851, and K-853.

P.S. Mollahat. Coming now to the other contiguous area P.S. Mollahat, which is north-east of Khulna, witnesses from this area have reported a few cases of attacks on villages where looting and arson took place. There are, however, quite a few cases of abduction and rape and numerous witnesses who referred to a state of affairs showing that so far as Hindus were concerned there was no security of life and property and the honour of women. They referred, which has been also referred to in other areas, to the fact that their crops would be harvested by the Muslims, their cattle taken away and even when they went to the market, the Muslims took away whatever they liked without payment. They also mention the cases of assaults. They say that no protection was available against this from the authorities. As one of them K-1184 says :

"Decoity and theft at night were rampant, at day open Muslim oppression. The authorities were either callous or helpless or conspirators."

He also adds that any women could be taken away and that there was no redress. Many of them were told that there

was no place for them in Pakistan and, therefore, they should leave. They also reffered to the anti-Hindu feelings among the Muslims. One of them K-1187 says:

"We had tasted the bitterness of communal outburst on previous occasions."

In order not to burden the report unnecessarily we shall not deal with any specific cases but shall give the numbers of the witnesses who deal with the attacks on their own villages.

K-1180, K-1183, K-1186, K-1196, K-1197, and K-1198.

Others have said that although their own village was not attacked the neighbouring villages were attacked and looting and arson went on all around.

P.S. Rampal. There are two areas P.S. Rampal and P.S. Dacope which are situated close to Mangla Port. In both these areas havoc was wrought by Muslim workers of Mangla Port beginning with Saturday the January 4, 1964. January 6, 1964.

(Pakistan Observer, January, 6, 1964)

We propose to deal with Rampal area first.

The evidence of witnesses from villages close to Mangla Port shows that the atrocities started some time in the evening of January 4, 1964 and later on spread to different areas in Rampal. This seems to have gone on for a number of days unchecked. In the beginning of these attacks, the workers from Mangla port seem to have been, apart from looting and burning, intent on murder and instances of killing on a massive scale are found in numerous statements.

Abinash Mandal, K-I and Nishikant Biswas K-2 Dattar Nath say that their entire village became chaotic when Mangla Port and the areas round about were attacked. They say that large number of people from neighbouring villages started pouring into their village with terrible tales. Their village was also attacked. Number of people mentioned that about 15 members of the whole family of Sashi Mahajan of Kainamari, were killed. They saw many wounded persons screaming and groaning with pain. Many helpless women with wounded children from different villages appealed to them for shelter.

Lakshmi Rani Roy, K-11, Duttamath among others refers to the raid on her village and also nearby villages and says that houses were plundered and burnt and that men and women were massacred. She says that large number of persons were killed and wounded. She adds "We were puzzled and overwhelmed with fear and took shelter in the

nearby woods for 3 days. My son died of fear."

Similar is the story of Sashi Bhushan Roy, K-400, Dattamath.

Similar statements are made by witnesses K-404. K-407, K-391, K-386.

Ruhidas Biswas, K-338, Kainamari, also says that apart from the burning of Hindu houses and looting of Hindu property, his sister, brother-in-law, nephew and their relatives, 19 persons in all, were murdered. He says that along with his family he spent 8 days in the nearby forest. Sashi Mahajan was his unfortunate brother-in-law.

Santosh Kumar Mandal, K-889, Amarbunia, says that in his village there was looting. He also refers to the killing of the whole family of Shashi Mahajan and he has seen the corpses of the members of the family mutilated in a terrible manner.

He saw the dead body of a baby thrown on the breast of the mother who had been stabbed to death by cutting her throat and ripping open her abdomen.

He mentions the names of some of the assailants

Some other witnesses corroborating the same story are K-391, K-389, K-302, K-322, K-9, K-10, K-402, R-371, K-372, K-36, K-40, K-41, K-50, K-49, and K-19.

Bharat Chandra Biswas, K.377, Mangla Port, says: "It was a day of terror for Hindus. Muslims (mostly non-Bengali) attacked our area. We left our house and sought shelter in a Muslim house. He snatched every thing from us and drove us out. He mentions that a very large number of Hindus were killed and Hindu women were raped in the streets. Forty Hindu girls were also abducted who were not traced. He says that no Hindu house exists any more. All the Hindu belongings were looted. He ran away and sought shelter in the jungle, and was there for two days. Many Hindus also took refuge in the jungle. Many goondas chased them and the unfortunate Hindus who were found in the jungle were killed and the women raped. He says that his own wife was raped in his presence. He says that many corpses were floating on the 'Mangla'. He then left and went to his old house in P.S. Faridpur".

Sirubar Mandal K-392, was in Mangla Port and when the disturbances spread he noticed that the nearby villages were being attacked. He says that some of them went to the paddy fields and took refuge there for 4 days without any food.

Jhoru Ram Dhali, K-127, Koty Khali Bazar, says that he that he had two boats He went to Mangla Port as his boat was hired by a dealer of rice. The paddy was stocked in the boat and he went to sleep. After some time he woke up to see rfie all round and heard shouts of 'Jehad' and saw people running helter skelter. Several persons including women and children came running to his boat for shelter. One family requested him to take them to the other side of the river which he did. Next morning a Hindu doctor asked him to rescue his family from Malgaji. When they reached that village they found the village empty. Then they went to Digraj where they found the family of the Doctor. This went on unchecked for 3 days. After about 6 days Sabur Khan came by helicopter and asked the Hindus to stay on and assured them that no trouble would take place but forbade the Hindus from selling properties. He says that he had lost all faith in Pakistan Government and the Muslims in Pakistan. He adds "They always created trouble and always spoke to them repentantly afterwards and started the same thing over and over again."

Kiran Barman, K-495, Chankuri mentions that his father was a medical practitioner at Mangla Port. He had gone out to see some patients where he was brutally murdered and his dead body was thrown into the river.

Nagarbansi Mandal, K-1333, says that he was the owner of a hotel in Mangla Port. He says the day the trouble began he was sitting and having food in the hotel along with some others. When the place was attacked they ran away from the back door into a banana grove but they were discovered. Throats of two persons were cut and he was stabbed many times. They pushed him into a pond and when he came back next morning to his hotel he rested for a while in the empty building. He says that at 10 a.m. in the morning he was told by a police man to go and take shelter in the police station. As he was proceeding he was again attacked and pushed into the river. After some time he got out and managed to reach the police station and he was later taken to a hospital.

Brajendra Nath Shah, K-1 village Bainbaria says that on one morning in the early part of January 64 last, he along with his teacher, was going to Mangla Port to get himself admitted into a Missionary School. When he was in the motor launch he found to his surprise that Muslim passengers began to stab Hindu passengers and throw them into the river. Six persons were drowned. Three Policemen were in Launch but remained silent spectators. They tried to take shelter with Police but they asked them to swim in the river. He did so. He passed himself off as a Muslim. Crossing the river he directly went to the Church and took refuge there.

During the night he saw Hindu villages on the other side of the river burning. Next morning he fled to his village. He went to his village but saw men being killed like beasts of the jungle. One Hindu boy of his village was converted to Islam. However, he fled away. His father is still in Pakistan. But he cannot forget the horrible sight, a reign of terror before his eyes. So he had to leave Pakistan.

Ram Biswas, K-21, Kanainagar says that on the night of January 4, his village was attacked. All the houses in the village were looted and burnt.

The adjoining villages, Kainamari, Chila, Makurdum, Salabunia and Joymari were also burnt. He says that 14 Hindus including women and children were killed. Among those killed was his cousin Subodh Mandal and he himself was injured on the head. Then they took shelter in the nearby jungle for three days.

Bimal Mandal, K-279, Kanainagar also substantially corroborates the previous witness. He expresses the utter sense of insecurity by saying "Before husband wife is raped, before father the daughters" and he adds that so long as there are any Hindus in Pakistan this kind of terror will not end. He says that his father, two of his brothers and one sister were killed.

Chila is a fairly moderate sized town.

Mahendra Nath Roy, K-390, Chila (South) says that his house was near Mangla Port. After the atrocities in Mangla his village was attacked and they got shelter in a Muslim house. When they returned the next morning he found his own and the neighbouring houses completely burnt.

Bala Roy, K-286, Chila, her story is similar and she says that her youngest daughter was killed, along with many Hindus in the area.

Keshab Mandal, K-289, Chila, says that his house was attacked by Muslim mob on January 5, 1964. Every night they took shelter in the paddy fields. Many families of their village took shelter in the houses of local Muslims. The females were kept in a separate room and ordered to break their conch-shell bangle and wipe out their vermilion marks. The helpless women carried out this order for fear of life. Then all of them were ravished brutally.

Harindra Nath Roy, K-304, Chila, referring to his part of the town says that when attacks came they resisted for two days but ultimately they had to seek shelter in the jungle. During the attack many Hindus, including many women and children, were killed.

Joymari, a nearby village, was also attacked. Witnesses K-30, K-31, K-28 among others have deposed about such attacks.

Similar is the story from village Makardam, which is very close to Mangla Port.

Suren Gupta, K-24, Makardum, says that large number of Mangla Port workers attacked our village, looted and gutted all Hindu houses. Nearly 20 people were killed. Among them were his sister and two nieces aged 10 and 5.

Khirode Biswas, K-425, mentions similar attack on his village and that the attackers spread terror. During the attack about 20 were killed and 20 were injured. K-443, also corroborates this statement.

Some other statements from this village are K-50. K-450, K-339, K-366. K-49.

Jatindra Adhikari, K-360, says that during the attack his maternal uncle, cousin, sister-in-law and her son Ashok were killed by the Muslim mob. They lived in Salabunia which is very near their village. He says that the girl's breasts were cut off and the child after being killed was thrown on her body.

Attacks were made in Salabunia in which according to K-18, K-17, K-36, about 20 or more Hindus were killed. Among them was the whole family of Sadtan Mahajan.

Similar attack was made on village Haldibunia which is quite close to Mangla Port.

Kalipada Mandal K. 3, says that Muslim raiders from the Port attacked his and neighbouring villages. The people from the village took shelter in the nearby forest, where he was caught hold of by a Muslim who was about to kill him, when a Christian who was passing by said that the witness was also a Christian and thus saved his life. He says that the Muslims molested the wife of Baman Mandal and snatched away her neckless and ear rings and she was beaten. He says that in the area the Christians hung the cross in front of their houses. Witness Jagobandhu Sarkar, K100, of Banisanta says, "I lived in Haldibunia. The riot broke out from Mangla Port. The Muslims set fire to the village Kainamari. We got frightened. But we prepared ourselves to resist the mob. We broke the bridge and were ready to offer our resistance. We stood on the riverside, opposite the Mangla Port, with various arms. The mob tried to attack but at last retreated. Then the mob went to the village, Makardum and set fire to that village. The villagers went to their Chairman's

house (Siddik Kia) for help. At first Siddik Kia did to agree to help us but his son persuaded him to help the Hindus. He (son) himself fired upon the mob. One Muslim died. In the meanwhile we the Hindus surrounded the mob. The mob got extremely frightened. But Siddik Kia said that he had killed one Muslim in order to save Hindus so we should let them off. They went away to Mangla Port. The Muslims used to set fire to our hay stacks, to our houses, They would abduct our women. The Police did not help us. Rather they joined the miscreants."

Manindra Mandal, K-366, Haldibunia, says ;

> "Our village was attacked by Muslims on Saturday night. We resisted and drove them across the Kanmari canal. They went back and returned with guns and started shooting." He says, "20 persons were killed, 15 injured, 4 women were raped and 3 abducted."

Nirendra Nath Mistry, K-333, Haldibania, says :

> "On 1st week of January Muslims burnt our neighbouring villages—Mangla port, Talabun. They also attacked our village and set fire. We left our houses and took shelter in the jungle. We spent 3 days in jungle. At first we tried to give them fight but we were defeated as police sided with the miscreants and began to shoot. Two men of our village were wounded. They also plundered our houses. I saw many dead bodies floating in the river near Mangala port."

Nagarbadi Mistry, K-381 Haldibania refers to the attack on his and neighbouring villages and to the burning, looting, killing and raping : "I found many Hindu bodies floating in the Mangla." He also says that he found the bodies of Hindus scattered here and there. He went on to add that the scene of the terror will remain recorded in his mind. He added "Hindus are pilgrims they have no Civil Rights there. No say in any matter. No discretion on any account. They have to do whatever the Muslims want to be done by them." He went on to add that blessed land reminds them (Hindus) of the cry of the grave. His wife was raped even at the border.

Similar story is given by many persons. We shall quote some numbers. K-1[illegible], K-29, K-33, K-374, K-412, K-445.

K-366 referred to above, mentions name of three women, who were raped.

Similarly Swarnamoy Biswas, K-303, refers to the rape of three other girls one of whom was his wife's sister. She was rescued on payment of Rs. 1,000/- through a member of the Union Board named Karnamuhari.

Lalit Mandal, K-466, also refers to the abduction of the sister of his brother-in-law by one Amin Mia of **Elaipur.**

Joyca Joynagar.

Nishikanta Mandal, K-302, Joyca, says that when they heard that attackers from Mangla Port were coming. About 70 of the villagers ran and were given shelter by Imam Ali Joddar an old man of village Parikhali, a Muslim majority village. Later they went back to their village and found that every house without exception was looted and a few Hindu houses were burnt and the whole village bore the mark of unchecked and indiscriminate plunder by Muslims from nearby villages. He says that later he went to Mangla Port and saw lying there many decomposed bodies. On his way he found the body of Sadhu Mahajan, also described as Shashi Mahajan, who was a highly respected and popular person in that area.

Haripada Mistry, K-291, describes the havoc in his village including the destruction of the temple and adds "Hindus are practically leading the life of slaves there."

Similar instances are given by **K-298,** K-301, K-305, K-307, K-376, K-424, K-449.

Shishubal Biswas, K-307, mentions the rape of the wife of his brother-in-law and another woman whom he names. They were recovered after two days and had to be sent to the hospital. The same incident is mentioned by K-302.

K-291, gives the names of three women, two of them his cousins and one his sister-in-law, who had taken shelter in Muslim houses, were raped and they were recovered after 2 or 3 days with the help of the police. Names of some of the perpetrators are Wahab, Balja and Sahib Ali of Parikhali.

So far as Joynagar is concerned there does not appear to have been an attack but even there, there are number of cases of abduction. We shall deal with some of them.

Satish Sardar, K-439, names 4 girls. One of them was abducted when she was cooking. Another one was carried away from her home. She and two others were rescued by the police. The culprit in the case of the first mentioned girl was Akkas Ali of Kadar Khola.

Four witnesses, K-415, K-16, K-21, K-22, mention the case of the daughter of Rajindra Kirtania who was abducted by Thomin Mia of Jhangane. They say that he

had been asking her father to allow the girl to live in his house but the father had refused. Taking advantage of the disturbed situation, he forcibly took her away.

Buridanga. Jatindra Nath Ejardar, K-347, Buridanga, refers to the attack of his village. He says that apprehending attack, because the people from the village saw nearby village burning, he along with some women and children took shelter. He returned to his village next morning and he saw a woman lying in front of her house with her throat cut and 15 others who had been killed. He says that even the Muslim O.C. (Officer-in-charge) of the village got frightened and advised them to leave the village.

Witnesses K-330, K-294, and some others give similar stories.

We shall now briefly deal with a group of about 50 villages in P.S. Rampal. All these villages tell a similar story of attacks, looting, burning, rape and total insecurity for Hindus. They refer to large scale attacks by armed gangs even in broad daylight. Some of them, for example Sunil Mandal, K-403, Nitakhali, says, "I saw hundreds of dead bodies floating in the nearby Pasan river." They also refer to the complete break down of law and order which compelled all of them to start their migration to India. As in other cases many of them give the names of persons concerned with abduction and rape. It appears also from the statements that in some cases Muslims gave shelter and some assistance. Many of them also say that the Muslims were telling the Hindus to leave Pakistan. We shall refer to a few cases.

Anand Mistry, K-388, Kesardanga, mentions that when his shop was looted, his son, Narayan, who was in the shop, was murdered.

Laxmi Kant Roy, K-352, of Sanbandha says that his village, which is overwhelmingly Hindu was attacked but they attempted to ward off the attack with the help of the Hindu Chairman of Union Council, who had a gun. But some portion of the village was affected and quite a number of Hindus tried to go across the river. They were attacked during the crossing and many of them were killed. He says that next day about 50 dead bodies were found in the streets and in the drains. He also says that he saw dead bodies floating in the river Mangla.

Rajendra Haldar, K-357, Pipal bunia, a village which appears to be totally Hindu and is within a quarter of a mile of village Kadir Khola which was a Muslim village, describes the havoc that was wrought in his village. He

says about 60 Hindus were killed. And goes on to say that even the children were not spared. They were caught hold of by their legs and thrown into the burning houses, some were thrown into the water where they drowned and some were dashed to death against the walls. He says that after a few hours the military came but the Hindus could not live in that village because there was no shelter left. A Hindu temple was descreated and the idol was broken.

Atul Mandal K-51, from the same area, among other things mentions that the police took away all weapons from Hindus and they became helpless.

Gouranga Bachar, K-368, Chandpai says that his village was attacked and before the Chairman Union Council came to the rescue, 11 persons had been killed and 16 injured. Houses were looted and set on fire.

Most of them say that these attacks started as a result of the propaganda in connection with Hazarat Bal. So for as the villages round about Mangla Port are concerned, it also appears that this state of affairs went on unabated for a number of days.

Several witnesses have mentioned with gratitude that Siddique Mia, the Chairman, Union Board, rendered great assistance in protecting the Hindus.

Numerous cases of rape and abduction have also been referred to by witnesses. Gaurang Bachar, K-368, already referred to, says that his wife was attacked in the house and two other women, whom he names, were raped in front of their houses.

Kshitish Mandal, K-315, Damar Khanda, mentions the case of the wife of one Sunil Bairagi who was abducted when she and her husband were on their way to get shelter. She was raped and he mentions the name of Dr. Anant Mistry of Haldibunia who treated her. The name of the miscreant is Chottashir Mia of Katarkhol, Khulna.

Shishunbar Mandal, K-392, of Kumarkhadi, mentions the case of his sister-in-law and another girl who returned after 3 days of detention by the goondas. During that time they were raped.

Nagarbasi Mandal, K-48, Balai says that some women who had taken shelter in the house of the Muslim Chairman of Parikhali Union were driven out from the house at night and they were raped by the miscreants. Among these unfortunate women was his cousin. He says he saw a woman being raped and after this assault

the left breast was chopped off. He saw her die writhing in pain. He adds "these were terrible and greatest experiences."

Several other witnesses have referred to similar cases. We shall give the numbers of some of the cases. K-22, K-242, K-293, K-347, K-372, K-372, K-439, K-448.

P.S. Dacope. Dacope is another Police Station. Some part of its area is very near the Mangla Port. The witnesses from villages nearby to Mangla Port describe the burning and looting that was going on in Mangla Port and round about villages. Large numbers left their villages and sought refuge wherever they could. Many of them realising what this meant, started the trek to India leaving every thing behind.

Narsu Chandra Baidy K-81, of Banisanta says that Mangla Port is on the opposite side of the river from his village. Riots first broke out in Mangla Port area. Muslims set fire to Hindu houses of nearby villages and attacked ours. Many in our village were injured. It was like a total massacre and Hindus became panicky especially when they found that the Government was totally inactive in attempting to quell the disturbances and that they were abetting the rioters.

Renukanta Sarkar, K-517, Bani Santa, says that his village was attacked by armed Muslims who looted and burnt Hindu houses. He among many took shelter in the nearby forest for 2 days. Many, however, could not escape and were killed and women were abducted and raped. He says that for couple of days large number of corpses were seen floating on the Mangla. It was a feast for vultures and kites during the day and jackals during the night. It was a time when Hindus were assaulted like beasts. Cattle, belonging to Hindus, were seized and slaughtered in the streets during daytime. Hindu temples were desecrated and idols broken. He adds "In one word whatever the Muslims wished they did."

Kiran Chand Kayal, K-83, Gunnri, was working at Khalishpur, an industrial area, in Khulna town and when the trouble started he ran away and went to his village. He found that the troubles were going on also in his area and therefore he started towards India.

Similar is the statement of witness, K.87, Tarak Mistry, K.494 from the same village who say that their village was attacked.

Tukki Dasi, K-92, an old woman of 70 from Khajuri, says that her village was attacked on January 4, in the evening. The local Muslims also joined the attackers. When the houses were set on fire, she along with her grand-daughter fled and took shelter in a paddy field five miles away. When she returned the next day, she found that her house was completely destroyed by fire. She says that her son and daughter-in-law lived in Mangla Port and she came to know that they were killed at Mangla Port.

Alpanada Chakrabarti, K-98, Dacope, states that he had gone to Jhilakhali for Kali puja and returned at dawn to Dacope On his return his wife and daughter said that they should leave the village because Sabur Sahib had sent goondas to kill the Hindus. Nothing happened on that day till the evening when two Muslims came to his house and demanded his 12 year daughter in exchange for protection. He refused and keeping his wife and daughter in the house of Sashi Mandal, he went to his 'Guru Deo' to get some money from him. While he was with the Guru Deo a mob of Muslims ran into the house and killed the Guru Deo. He ran away and returned to the house of Sashi Mandal. Next day his Brother-in-law came from Buridanga, P.S. Rampal and told him the terrible things that were going on and advised him not to cross the river. He also narrated the horrible atrocities and mutilation of women. He says that to his knowledge many women were abducted during the attack. The house adjacent to his was set on fire. Two women were inside. They killed one. The other, who was trying to run away was caught hold of and the two of them ravished her and then killed her by pushing a dagger into her vagina. He saw a man being killed. This kind of thing went on for 5 days. When the situation became slightly better, he with his family left.

Kalipada Roy, K-96, Dacope (South) says that his area was attacked, looted and set on fire and many Hindus were injured.

Nirapade Roy, K-107, Naihali, says "There was an attack and 25 houses were looted and burnt. One person was killed and one person injured. Since it was impossible to live in Pakistan I came away."

Nibaren Mandal, K-123, Srinagar, mentions that similar attacks were made on his village.

Harendra Bachar, K-129, of village Joynagar, says that he was at Khalispur on Friday 18 Poushmas at 9.30 a.m. The

Muslims near about 2,000 went scattering in the village and started looting and lit fire in the village. They behaved very badly with the women and burnt houses. Two women were kidnapped and one man was not found. They lit fire in paddy stacks. In this village more than 60% were injured and 10% were killed. At 8 P. M. the Muslims went to Kali Mandir and broke the goddess and damaged the temple and insulted the goddess. They injured and killed whomsoever they found. On all sides fire and smoke were seen. The Muslims were mostly Bihari and from Khulna, and many were out of our village.

Manoranjan Sarkar, K-476 Gorkhali. We have dealt with a part of his statement in another connection. Here we shall confine ourselves to his story of the attack on his village He says the local Muslims with the help of Non-Bengali Muslims attacked thrice. He adds that stealing and snatching away of paddy was a regular affair. When the attacks came they took shelter in the paddy land. No Hindu woman could ordinarily come out of the houses. Normal and regular life for Hindus was out of question.

K-477, K-478, and K-481 also refer to the attacks on this village.

Witnesses K-484 K-485, and K-486 all from Kamarkhola say that although there was no attack on this village, the stealing or forcibly taking away of paddy from the field, burning of haystacks and insult and abduction of women was common feature in this village.

Purna Chandra Sardar, K-503, Ramnagar, says that his house as well as several other houses were looted and burnt by Muslims from neighbouring as well as his own village.

Bhupati Gain, G-505, Lakshmi Khola, says 'Muslims raided our village last January and wounded many Hindus Hindu houses were set on fire. Women were insulted. In the name of "Sabur Mia" they wanted to create havoc and they really did it. Helpless Hindus became panicky and finding no way out started for India one after another for safety of life and prestige."

Upendra Nath Barkandaj, K-527, Kailashgange says that his village was attacked on January 16, 1964 by an armed mob. Hindu houses were burnt and many Hindus were killed.

Purna Chandra Sardar, K-503, says that his sister aged 23 was raped in her house by Muslims. Her husband Keshab Baidya was murdered. Same incident is gived by K-74.

Renukanta Sarkar, K-517, says that his cousin was abducted from the river Chat. She was rescued after a

few hours from a boat. She was raped. On their way to India his wife was raped by goondas.

Upendra Nath Barkandaj K-527, of Kailashgunj, mentions that a girl from his village (name given) was abducted from her father's house and raped by a number of persons. She came back after two days and had to be taken to hospital for treatment.

Aukhoy Kumar Mandal, K-491, Kalinagar, mentions that his grand-daughter was abducted and raped. She was found unconscious on the bank of river Karnaphuli.

Harenda Gain K-478 Garkhali says that his niece aged 25, was forcibly taken away from the house when the house was attacked. She was found next day.

Dhindra Nath Sardar K-66, Banisanta, says that the daughter of his neighbour (name given) was taken by a Muslim friend on the plea of protecting her. He took her to another Mulsim's house and she could not be traced.

Jasoda Mandal, K-75, a woman aged 64 of Karatali says that a woman of 22 (name given) in the last week of March 1964 went in the evening to answer the call of nature but disappeared. She was not traced.

Narsu Chandra Baidya, K-81, Bani Santa, mentions that while a relative of his and her hasband (name given) were in their house at night the miscreants entered the house, tied the husband up and ravished her.

Narendra Mistry, K-459. Dhopadi, says that a young woman of 25 (name given) from his village was abducted from her house and she was raped. She came back the next day and she had to be treated for her injuries.

Sudhir Bawali K-103, Sibnagar, says that the sister-in-law (aged 20 and married) of his brother was taken away forcibly by Sayad-Sana, Chairman, U.C. of hi area and never returned.

There are numerous other statements which refer to similar incidents. Some of them are K-76, K-82, K-84, K-101, K-102, K-103, K-113, K-125, K-126, K-463 K-469, K-472, K-482, K-484, K-485, K-486, K-487, K-488, K-491, K-492, K-493, K-494, K-497, K-499 K-506, K-507. K-515, K-516, K-517, K-522, K-523, K-527, K-1330.

In P.S. Dacope it appears that the villages nearest to Mangla Port suffered the most. The more distant ones were not attacked in the same manner by gangs of Muslims. But it is note-worthy that practically every witness mentions the total

insecurity of life, property and honour of women in their various villages which forced them to leave their homes.

In this area again large scale taking away of anything which the Muslims desired, either from the fields or from the houses, is reported. It is also reported by numerous witnesses that they were told by the Muslims in their different areas that there was no place for them in Pakistan and that they should leave, and if they did not leave neither their lives nor their properties nor their women would be safe .

P.S. Paikgachha, P. S. Paikagachha is an area adjoining Decope and to the west of Dacope.

Mangal Thandar, K-140, Hogal Chak, says that the local Muslims raided Hindu houses at 10 P.M. one night. They were armed. Four houses were looted and burnt. They tried to loot other houses but as resistance was offered they could not do so.

Bishnu Pada Mandal, K-158, of Maheshwari Pur, says that a gang of Muslims attacked the village at about 10 at night. Some haystacks were burnt and more than 25 persons were badly injured. The adjoining villages were badly affected. K-167 and K-168, give accounts of similar incindents from Maheshwari Pur.

Mahendra Mandal, F-263. Maheshwari Pur, says : "The local Mus.ims did not like that the Hindus should live in Pakistan. For three days the Muslim raiders attacked our village with deadly weapons, plundered, looted and gutted houses of the Hindus. 14 Hindus reeeived severe injuries, 5 houses were looted and gutted. One woman was molested. Economically, we were boycotted. We were forced to leave villages. Five cows were forcibly taken away by Muslims and slaughtered. The Hindu day-labourers would not get their legitimate wages."

Gobardhan Mandal, K-162, Paikgachha, says that he had gone to Khulna on January 3, 1964 by launch and when he reached there two of his companions from his village were mercilessly beaten. He ran away and hid himself during the night. Next morning he came back by launch when he found that his area had been attacked and Hindu houses were looted. His niece was among the girls who were abducted and was got forcibly married to a Muslim. He complained to the Police but the Police took no action. The girl is still with the Muslim. The village was attacked again when similar things happened and they ran to take refuge in the paddy field. His brother was killed.

Aswani Kumar Mandal, K-164, Sonakhali, says "after Khulna riot a gang of thirty Muslims came to my uncle's house and looted paddy and other belongings. On the previous day they had broken the Kali temple and the idol was taken out on to the streets and was thrown there. Next day the Muslims came again to another uncle's house but resistance was offered and they could not burn. The Muslim Chairman looted large quantities of grain from properties of various people. He says that when they attacked the house of his uncle, they tried to force the women out of the house but the people from village came to the rescue."

Haradhan Mandal, K-166, Dighenabad, says :

"Our village was attacked one night in January last. Hindu houses were looted and burnt. Since then every nignt the Muslims used to come and we used to drive them out."

Sri Nagendra Nath Mandal, K-172, says :

"Haystacks were burnt into ashes. Muslims tried to create disturbances in our village but they failed due to our Chairman Gulzar Ahmed. He protected the Hindus from the hands of the miscreants. He had got one rifle. He ordered the Choukidars to guard the Hindu houses of our village. The Muslims could not do anything due to this Chairman. As a result of this the Muslims became furious. One day they set fire to the haystacks of the Chairman. The Chairman was not at home. He went to Khulna for some urgent piece of business. When he came back he found everything in disorder. He was also made to understand that the Hindus had burnt away the haystacks. So Hindus should not be allowed to live in Pakistan. In reply to this the Chairman told them it was impossible on the part of Hindus to burn away his haystacks. I know the persons who had done this thing, he added. Then he asked the Hindus to leave Pakistan as early as possible as he would not be able to save Hindus any more."

Aswin Mistry, K-175, Baliadanga, says :

"Our village was attacked after our neighbouring village Amadi, had been attacked. Hindu houses were burnt and looted. Hindus were assaulted and number of them injured. Crops were forcibly taken away from the field and fish from the pond. Harassing of women and men continued unabated."

Dhirendra Nath Mandal, K-193, Kharia, says :

"In the month of April a group of Muslims attacked Hindu homes of our village. They burnt the shops but were unable to kill Hindu men and wemen as we resisted with fire-arms. We informed the police station but they refused to give us any help or protection."

Similar statements are of K-221, K-222, K-224.

Swarup Biswas, K-194, Baga, says :

"In March 1964 Muslims of our village joined with the Muslims of neighbouring villages and looted the local market of our village. The property of the Hindus and the honour of their women folk is now completely at the mercy of the local Muslims."

Adari Dasi-195, Hogla, says that in the last week of February 1964, a group of Muslims came to attack the Hindu houses. "We left the house and took shelter in the paddy fields for two nights. My house was gutted by the Muslim mob."

Buburam Sana, K-211, Mejerabad, mentions "in last January Muslims attacked our village set fire to Hindu houses and looted Hindu properties. I was attacked and injured. So were many other Hindus. Hindus are passing their lives as slaves."

Anath Bandhu Biswas, K-239, Kapilmuni, says :

"One day in January last I was sitttng at my shop, large number of Muslims attacked my shop and looted all the articles worth Rs 14,000/- (approx.). The gang also looted other shops. The mob injured my employee by hitting with a lathi."

Bharat Biswas, K-267, Katpara, says :

"Early in January a mob of about 100 raided the village in the afternoon. Two of them had guns We tried to escape. The chrirman Wazed Kahar helped the miscreants along with the local Muslims. The son of Kedar Nath Adhir was seriously injured and he expired"

Gour Chandra Sarkar K-270 Kharia Dhansharhali mentions that in early part of January 1964 a gang of about 20 Muslim miscreants raided the house of Baluram Haldar—his sister's husband. It happened at night. Haldar managed to drive away the miscreants who just before dawn launched a 2nd asault on the family and shot Haldar to death. Looting of rice and paddy from

the Hindu houses was frequent. We had to guard our village day and night. We had no alternative but to leave Pakistan for ever.

Tuku Mandal, K-279, Binbaria, a young woman of 28, says that one day a gang of Muslims set fire to the village, plundered houses, killed men, women and children. Throats of children were cut. Muslims tried to abduct women and were forced to marry them. She says "We felt that our honour was at stake under such circumstances."

Patiram Mandal, K-282, Chakatala, mentions that the market of their area was attacked by the Muslims. All the Hindu shops were looted, The Muslim shops were left untouched. The Police were called and Chairmen and Members were also called in for judicial enquiry. They did nothing, only asked the Hindus to leave if they did not feel safe to stay. So they all left in batches.

Jatindra Mistry, K-136, Hadda, mentions that his daughter-in-law was abducted by Muslims when she went to the pond for washing. She was forcibly taken away but they could get her back.

Same incident is corroborated by Manijatar Roy, K-138.

Bhaven Mandal K-139, Khara Math Bari, mentions that his sister-in-law was ravished mercilessly by the Muslims in her own house. Her father-in-law, Jogendra Nath Mandal, was seriously injured. He also mentions that a girl Tarapada Sundari of village Math Bari was kidnapped by Sukh Chand Sardar, brother of the Chairman Alem Sardar. She was compelled to live with him and not yet released by him.

Kalipada Goeldar, K-142, Paikgachha, says that the wife of his elder brother was abducted by Hassan Mia, a policeman from village Paikgachha. He says that his own wife was also molested in the village. He says in December 1963 Hassan Mia came to the house and demanded the women of the family. The same policeman in January abducted his sister-in-law.

Nirapada Mandal, K-152, Mumkhali, mentions the case of an unmarried girl of Hari Sardar of Hodda village. She was abducted by the miscreants and was raped mercilessly. She was found unconscious in the field. She died on the way to her home.

Same incident is given by Anand Mandal, K-151, of the same village.

Bishnupada Mandal K-158, Maheshwaripur says that the wife of Amulya Kumar Sardar of village Hadda was abducted and raped. She was sent to the hospital where she died.

Same incident is corroborated by Sabal Baidya, K-168, Maheshwaripur.

Mahendra Nath Gain, K-163. Maheshwaripur, mentions that the wife of Manoranjan Mandal of his village was abducted from her house by Sajjad Mia of Maheshwaripur. She was raped. On the same night she was found unconscious in a field near the village. She had to be sent to the hospital for treatment.

Sukhlal Mandal, K-196, Bishtupur, says that his wife was abducted at Satkhira when they were fleeing.

Kiran Banerjee, K-209, Mathbari, says that his wife was dragged out of his own house. Miscreants wanted to rape her but she was rescued by them after fighting with miscreants.

Haripada Mandal. K-210 Marimanagar, mentions that his aunt and a wife of Madhol Mandal, his relations, were abducted and they never returned.

Parsada Mandal, K-228, Barbari, says that his daughter aged 11 was abducted by two Muslims of the village when she was coming home from school on January 15, 1964. She has not been traced. The names of the persons who took her away are Dhonai Gazi and Madhu Gazi.

Shibpada Sarkar. K-170, Bauan Nagar, mentions that the temple of Kali in the village was destroyed and the idol was thrown out.

Haripada Mandal, K-210, Kasimnagar, says that the Kali temple in his village was attacked and damaged.

Purnachandra Sardar, K-716, Patnikhali, mentions that the nearby Kali temple was ravaged. Same incident is given by K 254.

Amulya Sardar, K-228, Kharia, says that in the neighbouring village Kali temple was looted and burnt.

Jnendra Nath Mandal, K-760, Sonakhali, says that the temple of Kali situated on the north side of the village was burnt.

Anukul Chandra Mandal, K-273 Ramchandra Nagar, mentions that the market place was looted. Kali temple was demolished. Police stood by and watched this happening.

Manohar Chander Sarkar, K-275, Beliadanga, says that a gang of Muslims threw the idol of goddess Kali into a latrine.

Morrellgunj. This area is close to Mangla Port towards the East. It is also not far from Khulna town and is south-east of Khulna town. This area along with Sarankhola and Kachna adjoins the district of Barisal, which we believe is known as Bakargunj, to the east of Khulna District. So far as Molarhat is concerned, it touches on the south-east, Barisal and on the north-east district of Faridpur. We shall deal with P.S. Morrellgunj which as we have said already was close to both Mangla Port and Khulna town. In this area the attacks on villages were wide-spread. We shall deal with a few of these statements.

Basant Kumar Bepari, K-856 Harindhara, says that early in January Sabur Khan addressed a public meeting at Morrellgunj School. At this meeting he instigated the Muslims to drive away Hindus from the villages. He said that Muslims are slaughtered in India like the beasts of the jungle and all loyal Muslims should take revenge for it.

The witness says that after this his Muslim neighbours began to say that all Hindus who wanted to live in Pakistan could only do so if they embrased Islam. After that attacks on Hindu property became numerous.

Khirode Chandra Bepari, K-885, Harindhar, says that on 6th of January, a group of Muslims attacked his house. They ran for shelter to paddy fields where they remained for 3 days. When he came back he saw that everything including his cattle had been stolen and part of his house was burnt. He adds that he informed the Chairman of U.C. of the village but the Chairman said that he was unable to help them.

Ramchandra Gain, K-889 Sontala, says that his village was attacked and looted. Several Hindus were injured. He ran away with his family to the paddy field. Later they were asked by a Muslim to take shelter with him and there his wife was raped by the host. He adds that practically there was jungle rule for days together. Hindus were leading the lives of slaves. Similar incident is given by K 985.

Haven Majhi, K 865, Sontala, says that attacks were made on the neighbouring villages. On seeing the fire they left the village and took shelter in neighbouring

village and returned after a day when they found that the village had been completely looted. Same incident is given by K 870.

Saraswati Mandal, K-869 Devtala, says that one noon the neighbouring village Nitakhali was seen on fire. On that they ran for shelter to the paddy fields. When they returned at night they found the village had been looted. Police was informed and the Police said that they had been served right. K 897 refers to similar incident.

Binodini Majhi, K-871 Sanirchar, says :

"We live near Mangla Port. The destruction at Mangla Port was terrible and indescribable. The affected persons from there took refuge in our village. Soon thereafter the village was raided." The witness says that she took refuge in a neighbouring Muslim house. When they returned next morning they found the houses were completely looted. She says that the local Muslims sympathised with them and tried to protect them. But after a few days they had to leave.

Hiralal Haldar, K-875, Laxmikhali, mentions that in January the village was attacked and the Hindus took shelter. When they returned they found their houses looted, The Muslims told them to leave and threatened the lives of Hindus if they did not leave. Similar is the statement of K-888.

Nityanand Mandal, K-877, Amarbune, says that the village was attacked by a gang of about 100 Muslims. When they started looting resistance was offered and 3 persons were killed and 7 injured. Among those injured were he himself and his brother.

Rajni Kant Haldar, K-880, Amboria, mentions that his village was attacked and houses were set on fire.

Rajendra Biswas, K-882, Sonerjore, says that when Nitakhali and other neighbouring villages were attacked, apprehending danger all left for shelter in jungles and paddy fields. Some of them remained behind to resist an attack. He noticed that streams of Hindus came running towards his village and many of them were being stabbed irrespective of their being men, women or children.

Similar is the statement of K-1319.

Sukumari Haldar, K-887, Khariakhali, says that in the middle of January there was an attack on hers and

her neighbouring houses which were looted and set on fire. Her son Khagen aged 12 was killed with a dagger.

Subal Krishna Bairagi, K-892 Palukhanda, says that Muslims began to attack houses at night and robbed them.

Nipal Mistry, K-896, Dhansagar, says that in January one night the village was attacked by a large mob when the houses were looted and many Hindus were injured. Among those injured were his brother and his cousin.

Suresh Roy, K-904, Dhansagar, refers to the raid and says that his house was plundered and everything was taken away. "The police and the other Government servants instead of helping us, took the side of the raiders." His elder brother was badly injured and he took treatment in Bagarhat Hospital. He also says that later on his land was forcibly occupied. He gives the names of the attackers on his house as Yasin Farazin and Habib Talukdar.

Nirmal Karti, 898 Aramghata, says that the village was attacked in January and Hindu houses were burnt. His wife was killed and several Hindus were injured. He says that the person responsible for the attack on his house was Bhomar Mridha of the same village.

Shimantu Mandal, K-899, Poyar Singu, say that they left their village on seeing that nearby villages were attacked and when they came back they found that Hindu houses were looted.

Khairode Chandra Byapari, K-885, Harindhara, says that the daughter of his cousin, aged 14, (name given) was raped by two Muslims when she was coming from the School. She returned after two hours with severe pain and bleeding.

He mentions that a girl, 25 years old (name given) was also abducted at the time of riot from her father's house and she is not traced.

Bimal Krishan Hira, K-867, Palarkhanda, syas that in the third week of January dacoits entered his house and raped his wife aged 22. He mentions the names of the miscreants as Ismail Seikh, Mokam Seikh and Kanai Seikh of village Khonkevber.

Subal Krishna Bairagi, K-892, Palarkhanda, says that the Muslims attacked the house of Mahendra Bairagi and raped his daughter.

Jogendra Hawaldar, K-893, Dakshin Sutanari, says that his sister-in-law, the wife of Anant Gain (name given) was ravished by Muslims. When the riot broke out in the neighbouring village, this woman with others, took shelter in jungle where she was raped.
Same incident is reported by K-895.

Ashutosh Ghosal, K-1317, Douiyatola, mentions that his wife was hit on the head when she resisted the Muslims. He also mentions that two women (names given) were raped in their houses and left in the courtyard in a bleeding condition. He mentions the names of the miscreants as Yusuf Ali, Ayab Ali and Gain Miya of the same village.

Nitya Nanda Mandal, K-877, Amarbunia, says that when he went to look for his mother and wife who took shelter in the jungle during the attack, he saw two girls were caught hold of by Muslims. One was carried away by 4 to 6 Muslims while the other girl was raped there.

Dinobondhu Das K-872, a woman of 25. Amarbunia, mentions the name of her niece who was abducted from her room by the Muslim mob. She says that she is still untraced.

Kola Majumdar, K-870, a woman of 32. Sontala, mentions that one evening a girl came out of her house and was going out for nature's call when a group of Muslims jumped on her. As the girl cried aloud her parents came out and rescued her with great difficulty.

Similar incidents of rape and molestation and the incidents of Muslims, who tried to take away the women but failed, were mentioned by several witnesses. Some of them are K-857, K-858, K-860, K-861. K-866, K-871, K 879, K-880, K-886, K-896, K-897, K-902, K-903, K-906, K-1319.

In this area as in other areas all witnesses have stated that there was complete lack of security which made it impossible for them to stay in Pakistan with any human dignity or honour.

We should mention that although so far as this P.S. is concerned we have not separately dealt with cases of forcible dispossessions of houses and land as well as their other goods and forcible harvesting, we might mention that there are number of witnesses who have stated this.

P. S. Asasuni P. S. Asasuni is to the West of Paikgachha and not far from the Indian frontier. In this area there are a number of incidents of attacks on villages but compared to those in Khulna and in Rampal they are much

fewer. The complete lack of security has been mentioned by all the witnesses examined by us. They describe the large scale forcible occupation of houses, forcible taking away of crops and other property and abduction and rape on a considerable scale. Witnesses have also deposed to the fact that they were again and again told by Muslims that they had no right to continue to live in Pakistan. In this area there have been more frequent attacks on temples in which the temples were destroyed either by fire or otherwise and the idols broken and thrown on to the streets. There is also a peculiar type of desecration of temples. We have come across several cases in this area in which severed heads of cows have been placed in temples. In these circumstances large number of persons, because of the terrible happenings in Khulna and Mangla Port and because of similar though not so prevalent incidents nearer **home**, considered it wiser to leave rather than wait for similar things to happen to them.

We shall now give a few instances of attacks on villages.

Panchanan Dhali, K 561, Ramnagar, says that in this village two houses were burnt but many houses were looted.

Jodhale Mandal, K 566, Godanpur, mentions that five or six houses in the village were completely burnt, including the house of witness. He says that the theft of Hindu properties was a regular affair. Hindus could not move freelv on the road or in the market.

Menoka Sarkar, K 571, Rajpur, says : "A large gang of Muslims came to the village and ordered the Hindu families to leave their houses and hand over all cash to them. The Hindus hesitated to do so and offered to come to terms with the Muslims. The Muslims went away saying that they would think it over. Same night the whole village was burnt down. My house was also burnt."

Jatindra Nath Mandal. K 573, Barabaria, says: "In mid January 1964 our village was attacked by a Muslim mob. Many huts were burnt. From mid January to March, Muslims forcibly took away food grains, cattle, fish etc. It was impossible for us to stay."

Kantilal Ghattack, K 574. Anulia, says :

"My house was set on fire while I was sleeping. As soon as I got out I was beaten very badly. My youngest son suffered severe burns and later died. I hid in the jungle for the night and next morning when I returned, I found that the whole village had been burnt down and our Mandir destroyed."

Madan Chander Mandal, K-576, Noktara, says :

"One night in April 1964, during a peace meeting of some parties including the police, the hooligans set fire to nearby house of Narayan Pandit, dragged my aunt, Jayanti Sardar, a widow, out from the Verandah and threw a bomb at our house."

Bhupal Sana, K-596, Thanakata, says that the Muslim mob attacked their village, pillaged their houses and plundered their properties. They became frightened. It brought a reign of terror in their locality so they left Pakistan forever.

Surya Kant Barman, K-629, Asasoni, says :

"In January the village was attacked by Muslims at night. Many Hindu houses including mine were burnt. Hindus were killed and properties looted. The Hindus were in great fear, especially when they found that they got no redress from the authorities."

Similarly attacks were made on a number of villages and looting and burning took place. Some of the villages are Ghaistia (K-604, K-641, K-642). Paieteli (K-631), Kudura (K-636), Jel Betua (K-638), Chardange (6-644) Sonapur (K-648) Kuadanga (K-654) Jadudanga (K-655).

In numerous villages in this P. S. harassment of various natures was rampant. We shall give only a few instances.

Anil Mukherjee, K-643, Thardanga village mentions : "During the riot there were some stray cases of arson, loot and abduction in our village. My own house was set on fire. The tension was very high. We used to see every day a large number of directly affected persons, during riot, pass by or through our village. Their flight filled us with terror. News of terrible riot in other parts of the land spread like fire. The local Muslims, who were offensive from before in all possible ways, took advantage of the situation and terrorised us more. Their wrong-doing knew no bounds. Nothing could be done against them, nothing could be said. They themselves were the makers of laws and breakers. DESARUDDIN SARDAR, one of the local chiefs, assembled a number of local Muslims next morning, after the arson on my house, and threatened us saying that it was our doing which we did purposely in order to put blame on Muslims for an opportunity of fleeing from Pakistan. MANY MUSLIMS, LOCALLY POWERFUL, USED TO VISIT HINDU HOUSES AT NIGHT AND SPEND HOURS IN COMPANY WITH WOMEN IN SOLITUDE. THESE HAD TO BE DIGESTED FOR FEAR OF LIFE. This was

the condition of Pakistan and from this it would be known why helpless Hindus were compelled to leave Pakistan in large numbers. Muslims considered Hindus their hostages —their properties, their (Muslims') birth right claim to enjoy and occupy. Openly, without even telling, they used to come and take things from trees, fishes from ponds, paddy and cattle from field. We were made to feel at every step that we were guilty, because we were Hindus, we were culprits because we being Hindus were in their land depriving them of the land and properties which were our own.

"There were no rights for a Hindu as a citizen. The law did not protect us, the authorities always took the side of the wrong-doers and were indifferent and deaf to our sufferings. It was not also possible to wear Hindu attire; my cousin Nirmal was going to a relative's house wearing a dhoti, a part of it he tucked in his shirt pocket as was the fashion. A moulvi, at Bardal launch ghat was addressing a gathering and Nirmal caught his attention. In presence of all he threatened Nirmal for his impertinent behaviour and forced him to put down his tucked cloth, otherwise he said, he would slap him hard and make him obey. These were the things which went on freely without any intervention from the authority and grew more violent and open during and after riot. The police of Asasuni P.S., whenever an officer used to come to this side, went to the Hindu ponds and caught fish by force without the permission of the owner, even in spite of protest, in order to entertain officers."

Harendra Mandal, K-666 Barimpore, says that in February last one noon some Muslims (10) armed with lethal weapons entered their house and told them to leave the house by that night; otherwise all the Hindus would be killed. They said that "From India 8 boxes of Muslim heads were sent to Pakistan. Further that Muslims were being killed in India." Hindus became frightened and approached the Chairman who tried to help them, but could not. By that time, some Hindu houses of neighbouring villages were burnt; Hindu temple was set on fire. We became frightened. We got no relief from the Police, who straightway drove us out o P. S. Being compelled we have come over to India."

Mangal Sardar, K-537, Bantola says :

Muslims harassed us in all possible ways. They would not let us use our nets for fishing on the ground that land and water belonged to the Muslims of Pakistan. They looted the crop, took away our cattle and spat on us."

Jadunath Mandal, K-545, Goaldange, states that hay stacks were set on fire which also burnt their houses. They were treated like servants and humiliated in many ways. Muslims often pasted placards containing filthy language about the women on the trees.

Abhimanyu Sarkar, K-548 Naktara, mentions that Hindus were abused and ill-treated at the market place. They were told to leave Pakistan. Immoral proposals to the women were a regular occurrence.

Durgapada Biswas, K 551, Etalbunia, says :

"Harvest was taken away by force. Women used to be harassed wherever they went. Nothing was paid to the Hindu traders in Market places."

Annyada K Biswas, K 553, Sarappur, says that hay stacks were set on fire and the fire spread to many houses.

Haripada Mandal K 555. Balikhali, states Harvest was reaped away forcibly. Thefts were rampant. Filthy remarks used to be addressed to Hindu women whenever they went out. Hindu traders were not properly paid."

Similar is the statement of Rati Kanta Gain, K 556, Brantole, and K 557 also from Brantole.

Jatin Biswas, K 562, Natana, says that he was severely assaulted in the market because he smoked a Bidi (Cigarette) in the presence of a Muslim on Roza (Fast) day.

Baidya Nath Biswas, K 565, Khalisani, says :

"Hooligans came to our village and looted houses. They took away cattle. They shouted slogans and made aggressive gestures. We got frightened, whether repetition of Khulna riots was going to take place."

Sasthi Dasi, K 567, Kadamda, says :

"Muslims forcibly occupied my land. They used to snatch away our commodities without paying. Hindus were beaten without any reason."

Durga Dasi, K 577, Kadamda, says :

"We were sleeping. I was awakened by screams, so were other members of the family. We woke up and found that my daughter aged 16 was not in the house. We came to know that Bazar Mia had taken her away and we tried to get her back without success."

Judbistir Sarkar, K 579, Fakarabad, says :

"My house was forcibly occupied by local Muslims. We were driven out by the Chowkidar Fazur of Union Board. Other houses in the village were similarly occupied.

Harendra Nath Banarjee, K. 581, Parishampir, summarises the reasons which compelled him to leave Pakistan.

(1) Temples destroyed.

(2) Difficulties in observing religious ceremonies.

(3) Chastity of women threatened. Some miscreants told his wife that they wanted to enjoy their daughter aged 25 who was abducted afterwards.

Sushil Kwarnakar, K.582, Ticket, says that their paddy stores were burnt almost every night after January 1964. The poor classes of Muslims insisted on our leaving Pakistan so that they could enjoy our properties.

Dhirendra Nath Sarkar, K.591, mentions—

(1) Forcible harvesting of paddy from lands belonging to Hindus.
(2) Occasional cases of dacoity and arson in houses and shops owned by Hindus.
(3) Forcible lifting away of cattle.
(4) Obscene gestures and proposals to Hindu women.
(5) Indifference of police to the complaints made by Hindus against Muslims.
(6) Abduction of women.

Sudhir Chandra Chakravarti, K.594· Hajipur, says :

"Janab Ali Gazi, member of U C. advised us to leave Pakistan, for he pleaded his inability to assure us security of life and property."

K.659 from Kapsondha gives similar case of the advice from U.C. Chairman.

Haju Sardar, K.597, Takipur, says :

"Muslims of our village did not want Hindus to live there. They would not pay for articles purchased from Hindus. Often crops were looted from the fields. Theft and looting was a daily affair. Police would do nothing. Law was completely absent. It was not possible to live in this state of lawlessness."

Saila Dasi K-612, Tardanga, a fisher woman aged 32, says that one day when men were away to the market a muslim came and said "Marry me or give your daughter. He went away as he saw the men folk returning. Muslims used to steel our goods and threatened us with death. All my articles were snatched away."

Similar state of affairs is described by witnesses K-566, K-567, K-582, K-599, K-600, K-602, K-6(5, K-608, K-610, K-611, K-616. K-617, K-619, K-618, K-620, K-612, K-627, K-633, K-634 K-640, K-644, K-647, K-648, K-652, K-653, K 654, K 655, K 658.

Prafulla Sardar, K 637, Khalia, says that his niece Hazi Dasi was abducted by one Muslim Sajan Mali from the house. They tried to rescue her from the miscreants. The police did not help. She was later on killed by that man, as he suspected her of running away to her father's house. He also says that another girl of 20 was abducted by one Jabbar of that village. He forcibly married her. The court allowed the conversion and held the marriage valid.

The incident regarding Hazi Dasi is also mentioned by a close friend of hers, K-535.

Gitendra Nath Promanik, K, 552, Kadakanthi, says that a young girl of 17, Amla Basar, had gone into a field along with an old woman. A gang of Muslims took her away and she was not returned. The leader of the gang was Tokin Beg of the same village

Bancharan Mistry, K-538, Banikathi, says that wife of Mahin Mandal aged 13, of his village was abducted by Jaffer Ali of the same village and he forcibly married her. She could not be recovered.

The statement K-539 refers to the same incident.

A similar case of abduction and forced marriage is referred to by K-567 of Kadanda.

Bhaduri Dasi Sarkar, K 568, Bansuli, says "Many Hindu women had been abducted. We informed police but no notice was taken." She mentions the case of a girl from her neighbouring village who was abducted at night from her house and taken to the neighbouring fields and ravished so brutally that next morning when she was found by her husband she was dead.

Jatin Mandal, K-570, Natane, says that the Chairman of the U. C. Amjed Ali Sardar, of Asansoni, abducted

an 18 year old girl (name given) on January 14, 1964. She was kept for 2 weeks.

Kantilal Ghatak. K 575, Anulia, says that his wife (name given) was raped in the courtyard of his house. He was held by four or five persons when this happened. The wife tried to fight back when she was beaten by a lathi. Witness himself was also hit on the head and he became unconscious. The names of the miscreants are Kanai Gozi, Haque Gazi, Keru Molla of Ballerpur village.

Haju Sardar, K 597, Takipur. says that his married sister (name given) was abducted from the house one night when he was away by Aziz Mailavi of Asasuni. Police were informed but she remained untraced.

Chandi Charan Haldar, K 609, Khalia, mentions the case of a young girl of 16, Hazari. daughter of Pratap Mandal of the same village, who was abducted during the night. Police was informed but she remains untraced.

K-610 and K-611 also refer to the same incident.

Kalipada Mandal, K 614, Fatikgali, says that his wife aged 18, was abducted when she had gone out from the house. He searched for her and after a few days found her in the house of a Hindu who reported that he had found the girl lying unconscious on the road-side.

Basi Ram Roy, K 617 Ram Nagar, says that when his neighbouring house was set on fire, he went to help put out the fire, two persons Mour Ali Sardar and Suffar Gazi of the same village entered his house and raped his 18 year old daughter. The incident took place during daytime,

Niran Sardar, K 639, Tuardanga, mentions that his wife aged 14 was dragged away from the house and taken near a pond. She was found after one hour with injuries which required treatment for a week. The names of the miscreant are Halif and Mana of the same village.

Radha Mandal, K 644, aged 30, of Chardange says that when her house was raided her husband was injured and some of the gang raped her and her sister-in-law.

Other incidents of molestation or rape of women are given by K-532, K-534, K-536, K-547, K-550, K-556, K-575, K-580, K-585, K-596, K-601, K-607, K-619, K-624, K-652, K-668.

In this area large number of witnesses refer to the attacks and destruction of Kali and other temples. We shall give only the numbers of these witnesses. They are K-530, K-531. K-532, K-538, K-539, K-549, K-554. K-558, K-580, K-582, K-587, K-588, K-590, K-593, K-600. K-622, K-656, K-659, K-661, K-662, K-663, K-667.

Several witnesses mention that cow's head was put in the Kali temple. K-601· K-609, K-637, K-659.

We shall now take the areas of Satkhira, Debhata, Kaligunj, Shyam Nagar, Kalaroa and Tala Masura which are either adjoining the Indian frontier or were close to it. In these areas the attacks on villages and burning of houses are not very common but there are incidents of that nature in quite a few villages. The reason may be that the trouble that started first in Khulna and Mangla Port and later on in Dacca had resulted in a large scale migration towards the Indian frontier and when the trouble was spreading to the western areas of Khulna the people near the frontier did not wait to suffer a similar fate. The Frontier runs for number of miles and the access to the India frontier was extremely easy.

In these areas, however there are similar types of cases of rape and molestation of women. The absence of any protection from the authorities, economic insecurity and incidents regarding attacks on or destruction of temples are not uncommon. Every one of the witnesses has emphasised the complete lack of life, security and honour of their women.

It may be mentioned that this state of affaris had been going on for some months after the first outbreak in Khulna on January 3, 1964. One thing, however, is remarkable that in all the areas including the ones which we have mentioned above the witnesses mentioned only the name of Sabur Khan as the person chiefly responsible for the terror which was let loose on the unfortunate minorities.

We do not think it necessary in view of this to examine the statements in detail as that would only be burdening the report.

PART III

CHAPTER 2

DACCA DISTRICT

The atrocities which started in Khulna and in Mangla Port had spread to different parts of East Pakistan and were still continuing unabated as would be evident from the account of the witnesses we have already dealt with from Khulna District.

Prior to the January 14, a raging propaganda regarding the communal incidents in Calcutta was going on, in which the happenings in Calcutta, as we have already pointed out, were exaggerated beyond recognition. This propaganda was like pouring oil on the flames which had been lit by the propaganda, wholly untrue, of massacre of Muslims in Kashmir after Hazarat Bal incident.

The emphasis in this propaganda as in the propaganda which started earlier after Hazarat Bal incident, was largely not against the Indian Government but against Hindus who were supposed to be perpetrating imaginary atrocities. The aim was to inflame the minds of Muslims against Hindus irrespective of whether they were Indian citizens or citizens of Pakistan.

What happened in Dacca and surrounding areas has been described in a despatch from Dacca and published in The Globe and Mail (Canada) March 2, 1964. It says:

> "Here in Dacca where thousands of frightened Hindus await permission to leave, there is an air of impending crisis, of mob violence.
>
> Calls for a 'Jehad' or holy war, against infidels are being shouted in sections of Pakistan.
>
> In rural areas outside Dacca are burned out houses and untilled fields of Hindus whose Muslim neighbours suddenly descended on them in nighttime raids. The owners—those who lived—fled with what they could carry."

In P.S. Fatulla there were number of mills on both sides of the river Lakha. On one side were Adamji Mills Nos. 1 to

MAP OF DACCA

SHOWING POLICE STATION AREAS



4, next to it was Dhakeshwari Mills No. 2, next to that is Chitranjan Mill and next to that is Laxmi Narayan Mill. On the opposite side of the river were Dhakeshwari Mill No. 1 and Adarsh Mills, some of these were owned by Hindus and a large number of Hindu workers were employed in these. Out of these workers a large number of workers were living outside the Mills' compounds, some quite close to the Mills and some in the surrounding villages.

The Adamji Mills were closed on January 13, 1964 and it is said that arms were being manufactured in the Mills and that late at night they were distributed among the Muslim workers of all the Adamji Mills. We shall give the detailed account of what the witnesses have said but before we do that we might mention that the attack which started early morning of January 14, appears to have been preplanned because the attack was not confined to the nearby Mills but also took place in the adjoining areas where there were large number of villages in which the Hindu workers of all the Mills were living. Some of these Mills had got quarters also in which some of the officers and a number of workers lived. Such quarters were not only inside the compounds but also outside the Mills. The attack seems to have been simultaneous in different areas.

Some witnesses have also stated that Mr Karim, the manager of the Adamji group had spread the rumour that his brother was killed in Calcutta and had asked his workers to take revenge.

From the night of January 13, 1964, a few thousand workers from Adamji Mills went on a rampage of loot, arson, murder and rape. Late at night, the attacks started on the surrounding villages largely inhabited by Hindu workers. Later early in the morning of January 14, the attacks on Hindu owned Mills on both sides of the river commenced. It is difficult to estimate the number of persons killed but th y must have run into a few thousand. As for properties and houses of these workers, the damage is impossible to estimate.

We shall first deal with the attack on Dhakeshwari Mills No. 2 which began early in the morning of January 14, 1964.

Bhupen Roy, 1338, Narayan Gunj, says :

"I was Secretary Laxminarayan Cotton Mills' Staff Union. M.A. Motaleb was General Secretary of Workers Union. I was a weaving clerk.

had been staying in the room allotted to the St. Un. Mess inside the Mills compound. This was about a mile from the house of Motaleb.

My Mills were working on 14th. The other Mills are Adamji Adm. 1-4 Jute Mills, Dhakeshwari Mill No.2 were at a distance of about 5 minutes walk.

On 14th I got up at 6 a.m. I saw Dhak 2 was burning and heard lot of hubbub. I went to telephone the firebrigade in Narayangunj and Dacca but the fire engines did not arrive. Police did not reach till 10 a.m. I telephoned also to Sunil Bose, Managing Director of Dhakeshwari in Dacca. He said that his Mill Manager had phoned him at 3 a.m. and he had asked for police and military. He had spoken to some Ministers, Inspector General of Police and Superintendent of Police. The name of manager and weaving master was Satyan Roy. I heard the account of what had happened. At about 7 a.m. about 2 to 3 thousand Hindu men, women and children rushed into the Mills and collected in our Mills. My mill was running but it was stopped and the workers went into the outer compound. Gate was closed but because of the insistence of large number of Hindus who had collected outside, the gate was opened and by 9 a.m. there were 10,000 persons in the compound. At 9 a.m. the Noakhali Muslims who were Darwans opened the gates. On this about 2,000 Muslims rushed in. Many were armed with lathis and iron rods and started assaulting. Everyone tried to rush into the mill but all could not and many were badly injured. Thereafter the Darwans closed the factory gate. There was extensive looting of the staff quarters. Thereafter the Muslims left. No police came but Ansars came and assured us thar there would be no attack. Three persons died and about 10 or 12 were injured.

Many went out of the factory and went to the quarters.

I telephoned the Superintendent of Police, Officer-in-Charge of the Police Station and Deputy Inspector General of Police and many others at Dacca. At 4 p.m, 20 armed police along with an Officer came to our mill from Dhakeshwari. The Officer instructed the men to fire at the feet if there was an attack.

At 4.30 p.m. there was a further attack. Large numbers rushed in and attacked those in the outer compound. The police fired only in the air. On that the mob rushed out. One of the workers was killed.

In Dhakeshwari 2 the attack began at 6 a.m, and went on till about 9 a.m. About 800 were killed. By the evening about 25,000 people had gathered in our compound. The police asked them to do so because the

police said that they could not give protection to all the mills as the police strength was limited. Three of the staff sleeping in the Mess which was outside the main compound wall were stabbed on the previous afternoon. We came to know this the next day, Their names are:

(1) Pabitra Chakravarty (died later)

(2) Manoranjan Pal.

(3) Malyan Bhowmick.

The telephone inside the Mills was controlled by the Police and they did not allow us to telephone, nor was permission granted to use the motor launch of the mills. The police said they would take the injured for treatment. They actually took them the next day. One died, two recovered. The manager's house which was outside, was attacked in the morning (9 O' clock) on the 14th. The manager with his family rushed into the mill but his house was wholly looted. The name of the manager was **Kshetra Nath Ghose**. On the 15th at about 11 a.m. Motaleb sent his brother and two others with whom I went to the house of Motaleb which is about a mile away. I stayed with him for about 12 days. On the 15th and 16th night Mohalla Nagarkhanpur, where quite a number of well to do Hindus were staying, was attacked and looted This I learnt from Motaleb. On 16th one Harsimal's father-in-law who lives in Dacca came. He said that when the mail trains from Chittagunj and Sirajgunj came to Tongi and Tejgaon Railway Stations, the Hindus were asked to get down. All those who so got down were slaughtered. The people who had taken shelter in the Lakshminarayan Mills were not allowed to go out by the police and some outside Muslims were asked to fetch milk and food for the children. They took the money but did not come back. These people had no food for 4 days from 16th to 20th.

I learnt from Sukumar Pal who had gone with the D.S.P. to visit the affected area, that at Langalbandha, where about 20,000 people had collected from neighbouring villages, were attacked and all round the road he saw corpses lying. 5,000 to 6,000 persons had been killed. After about a few days I went to Dacca and met Dr. S. K. Sen. He said that at Golakandail (90 miles away from Dacca) there was Posh Sankranti Mela on Tuesday 14 January. This mela goes on for 7 days. About 70,000 people had collected. These people were attacked by a large mob of Muslims. There was some resistance and even some local Muslims joined in the resistance but

5,000 to 6,000 people were massacred. Quite a number of persons were treated by Dr. Sen who got information from these people. I learnt from people from Sonargaon who had come to Dacca for their migration certificates, that while I was in Dacca, the Ashram of Ramkrishna Mission was burnt and some persons killed. At Lohia Sewagram, 5 to 6 miles from Dacca, the F.M.E. School, Public Library, Vivekanand Physical Club and Hiralal Lohia Charitable Dispensary were burnt down. This was on the 16th. I was one of the founders of some of the institutions and I learnt about it at Dacca when I had gone to obtain the migration certificate."

Witness says that he came to know on about the 15th or the 16th that Karim, the General Manager of the Adamji Group, spread a rumour on the January 12, that his brother had been killed in Calcutta and declared the mills closed on January 13 and 14. There were a few thousand workers in this group and they were supplied with weapons of various types. It was these people who started the large scale attacks They were later joined by workers of Demra and Bawamy Jute Mills, Karim Jute Mills and Shermin Textile Mills. The workers broke up into different groups and after creating havoc in Madhavdi Bazar, they reached Golakandail.

Sumati Barman. DF-93, a woman employee of Laxmi Narayan Cotton Mills says :

"On January 13, 1964 the trouble began at night. The villages near Adamji Mills were set on fire. My village was a short distance away and I could see the glow of the fire in the sky. In the morning myself and my husband without children ran towards the L.N. Mills. The gate was closed. The gateman was a Muslim whom I knew and I implored him to let us get inside. The gate was slightly opened and along with my two daughters and son I got into the Mills' compound but the gate was closed and no entreaty of mine would induce the gateman to let my husband in. We took shelter in the big hall. There were already about 500 or 600 persons in the hall. The mob thereafter broke open the main gate and rushed inside. They were armed with iron rods, knives and daggers and they were also carrying empty bottles of soda water and bottles containing petrol. A man caught hold of me and gave me a deep cut on my right elbow and I ran forgetting even my children and entered into a vacant room in the staff quarter. I waited there with five or six others. Then there was hammering on the door and the door gave way and a Hindu was attacked. He was stabbed twice. The man fell down

unconscious. Some one among the attackers wanted to catch hold of me but the other miscreants said "Kill all the males, including male children but leave the women alone as the women will be ours". The mob attacked the mills four times. Later some military came but they did nothing and it was only much later when large contingent of military men with rifles came that the attacks ceased after night. If the military had acted earlier lot of lives would have been saved. We remained inside the mills for 6 days and for 3 days were without food, not even enough water.

When after a week the riot subsided, we were taken with the help of military to our villages. I found that my house was completely burnt.

With the help of Kshetra Ghose, the Manager of the mills, I searched for my husband and I came to know that he had been killed on the very first day. While searching for my husband I went to the river and I looked for his body among the large number of dismembered heads and other bodies which were lying there. I could not find him among the dead.

The water of the river had turned red and remained unfit for use for a number of days. Dead bodies were seen floating in the river, and being carried away for some days. I saw several villages where not a single house had been left unburnt.

Santi Bhushan Datta, DF-157 was serving in the Chittaranjan Mills but on the day when the trouble started he was in Dhakeshwari Mill No. 2.

He says that early in the morning when the first shift began about 20,000 mostly non-Bengali Muslim workers from Adamji Jute Mills entered the Mill compound by scaling the walls, breaking open the gates as well as breaking down some portion of the wall. They rushed in swarms and turned the entire area into vast slaughter house. Loot, arson and murder went unchecked from sun-rise to sun-set.

Properties both of the Mill and of the Hindu workers and their quarters were looted and burnt. At least 700 Hindus including women and children were massacred during the day. Several women were also abducted. Police came late, only with tear-gas and they used the tear-gas half-heartedly. We were taken in the evening to Laxmi Narayan Mills. When we left, the entire mill area had a terrifying appearance. Very large number of dead bodies were scattered alaround and

mill machinery was found badly damaged. Lot of cotton and cotton textiles were burnt as also doors and windows. He mentions names of 3 of his relatives who died inside the mills. These were his maternal grand-father, maternal-uncle and his wife. He also mentions the names of three girls who were abducted from the mills.

Anupama Das, DF-13, wife of a person serving in the Dhakeshwari Mills No. 2 and living inside the Mill compound in the staff quarters, says :

"At about mid-night, we noticed fire near Simlul para We had no idea what had happened but early in the morning a large number of non-Bengali and Noakhali Muslims attacked our mill. We heard them shouting "Allah ho Akabar." I went inside the mill with my children but my husband remained in the house. After some time I went to get my husband but in the meantime the gate of the mills had been broken and the mills were set on fire. My husband and myself could not go back. We heard the heart-rending cries of women and children. My two daughters and one son were killed and my other 4 children were severely injured. Next day the military came and took us to the Laxmi Narayan Mills. Among the three children who were killed, were two girls aged 14 and 11, and a son aged 7. Out of the four children who were injured, three were girls aged 13, 8 and 5 and all the three had been taken away by Muslims. These children were recovered after a few days with the help of the military."

Haladhar Chandra Day, DF-130, was serving as a mechanic in Dhakeshwari No. 2, and living in the mill quarters.

He says :

"At about 5.10 a.m. on January 14, 1964 about 25,000 Muslims attacked the Mills. They were armed with various weapons including guns. As soon as they had broken into the Mills they started killing Hindus indiscriminately not even sparing women and children. They set fire to the temple, cloth godowns and the quarters of Hindus. Plundering and arson continued till noon. About 12 to 13 hundred were killed and 2,000 injured. I saw a large number of dead bodies. All this happened while the S.D.O. was there. He came at about 7 a.m. and seized the guns belonging to the Mills making it impossible to offer any resistance.

I saw large number of dead bodies floating into the river and the water was completely polluted."

The witness mentions the names of three girls whom he knew, were missing from the Mills.

Amar Chandra Barman, DF-176, a worker in Dhakeshwari Mill No. 2 and living in the Mill quarters says ;

"On the night of January 13, 1964, we saw fire from the Hindu area near Adamji Mills. This fire spread rapidly. We became panicky and went to the Mill office for shelter. The management, however, told us not to worry and to go back to our quarters. At about 5 in the morning thousands of workers from Adamji Mills broke the wall and rushed in through the gap. They started looting, setting on fires and killing. Men, women and children were butchered mercilessly. Quarters were looted and burnt. I hid myself inside a drain. When I came out of hiding after a few hours, I found no trace of my wife or children, and I saw about 700 dead bodies inside the Mill area. I was later on taken to Lakshmi Narayan Mills. I waited for four months before coming to India and I was happy to find my family in one of the camps in India."

Amar Chandra Routh, DF-188, a worker of Dhakeshwari Mill No. 2, residing in the Mill quarters outside the Mill compound, says that when they saw a large mob coming towards the quarters, he was one of those who could run inside the Mills. He says that soon the attackers came in and many of the persons inside were killed. These included women and children. He said that the S.D.O. was present inside the Mills while this was going on. He says that he saw heaps of dead bodies there, and that Hindu corpses made the Lakha water unfit for use.

Kalipada Das, DN-259, a worker in Dhakeshwari Mill No. 2, residing inside the Mill quarters, says that on January 14, 1960 at 5.15 a.m. the Mills were attacked by thousands of Muslim workers. The quarters of Hindu workers of the Mills were looted and completely gutted. He, with his wife, hid in a heap of refuse. His 7 children had already been sent inside the Mills. When the attack abated about noon, he went out and found that large number of dead bodies were lying all over. Out of his 7 children, 3 aged 15, 7 and 1 were killed and two were injured.

He has also mentioned that before the attackers got into the Mills the police had seized the guns belonging to the Mills.

Atindra Chandra Routh, DN-252, a worker in the Dhakeshwari No. 2, Mills living in the Mill quarters outside the Mill, where about a thousand families were living in the quarters, says that they saw fire in Simalpur at about 1 a.m. and they apprehended something ominous. He, however, heard from some body that it was a faction fight among the members of the two Unions of Adamji Mills.

Early in the morning thousands of these Muslims encircled the quarters. They tried to get to the gate but the gate was closed. He says that the helpless Hindus were killed mercilessly. He also mentions that the Nepalese Darwan had opened fire to disperse the hooligans. But the S.D.O. seized the guns and thereafter savagery was let loose. He mentions the names of 20 persons, some of them his near relatives, who were killed in the quarters. He, his wife and his mother were all injured. He saw a number of Hindu girls being abducted. He gives the name of one who was abducted, raped and killed thereafter. He also gives the names of seven of the attackers whom he recognised. Three of them were Sardar and Mistries in Chittaranjan Mills. Their names are Saijuldin Mia, Jayamal-ud-din Mistry and Razak Mistry. One of the attackers was Wazuddin Mia, an Ansar Commander. Wadur-Rahaman an Administrative Officer, Chan-Mia, Sardar of the same Mills and one Nur Islam of Narayanganj.

Witness CD, DN-1333, was in the weaving department in Dhakeshwari Mills No. 2. He says on the night of January 13, 1964 some workers becoming apprehensive took shelter inside the Mill compound. At about 1 or 2 a.m. he saw fires in Sidhirganj and Damara, another village, close to the Adamji Mills. Inside the Mills the night shift was working with about 3 to 4 hundred workers. There were about 2,000 workers of the Mills. About 30 to 40% out of these were Hindus and about half the number of workers were residing in the Mill quarters. S.N. Roy was the General Manager. At about 5 a.m. a large armed mob, may be a few thousand, tried to enter the compound of his residence. It may be mentioned that the Mills and some of the quarters are separated by a wall but both the Mills and the quarters are enclosed inside the outer compound wall. The witness and others residing in these quarters went nside the factory compound. The mob came from north and south and attacked the labour barracks of Hindu workers, outside the mill compound. About 50 to 60 persons were killed. Among them were Medni Deb. a calender cooli, Jogesh Ghatak, a ware-house clerk, Jatin Chander, a spinning clerk and Anyan Taran, pin-winder. These barracks were looted. Then the family quarters inside the Mills were attacked and looted and set on fire. Thereafter the mob entered the factory. The spinning shed, winding section, sizing section and loom shed were open. Muslim workers pointed out the Hindu workers to the attackers who killed them. 50 to 60 persons were killed in the loom shed. Among them were 4 Hindu line jobbers.

Then the mob entered the spinning shed and here also the Muslim workers pointed out the Hindus. In the preparatory section 15 to 20 Hindu workers were killed. Then the mob set fire to the stores and cotton godowns. Oil from drums was used for starting the fire.

Wives and children of the workers of C and A shifts were in the Manager's bungalow. The Manager telephoned the S.D.O. (Sub Divisional Officer) at Narayangunj and to the Officer-in-Charge of Police Station Fatulla. The police officer arrived a little later but without any armed police. The witness left the mills in the mill launch at about 5-45 a.m. to contact the the East Pakistan Rifles. Having done this he tried to get back to the Mills No. 1 on the other side of the river where he stayed till about noon. When he went back across the river he saw armed police on the river side. Bina Roy, a School teacher and her son were injured and she told him that she had seen the butchering inside the mills. He came to know that the mill watchman had fired killing 2 or 3 of the attackers. When the S.D.O. came he took away all the guns. Cashier Dhiren Saha was severely injured. He later on died in hospital. Shariti Biswas was also killed. The S.D.O. thereafter sent them with an escort to the Laxmi Narayan Cotton Mills. There were about 14 to 15 thousand persons there. When they reached there, there was hardly any protection. At about 7 p m. about a dozen military personnel came. He and the others remained inside this mill for 12 days and three days without food. There was an outbreak of cholera and small-pox. Medical aid came only 3 days before the witness left the camp.

The witness reached Calcutta on March 4, 1964. He had nothing with him.

Witness EF 1334 was an officer in the Spinning Department of D.C. No. 2. The account that he has given is substancially the same as the statement of previous witness.

Similar description of attacks, inside and outside the Mills is given by witnesses :

DF 157,	DF 93,	DF 130,	DF 188,	DF 176,
DN 261,	DN 250,	DN 262,	DN 263,	DN 260
DN 237,	DN 139,	DN 186,	DN 257,	DN 256
DN 268,	DN 266,	DN 265,	DN 264,	DN 171,
DN 109,	DF 7.			

Among others, Father Novak, who was a professor of philosophy in a Dacca college, was murdered on January 16 when he went to the Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills area, Narayanganj, to rescue a family in distress.

Before we deal with the villages we might mention that on the other side of the river while an attack was attempted on the Dhakeshwari Mill I, this attack was warded off but the villages outside the Mill compound and near about villages were victims of attack and many persons were massacred. It will be enough if we give two instances of what happened so far as Dhakeshwari Mill No. 1 is concerned.

Ram Prasad Das, DN-15, in service of Dhakeswari Mill I was inside the mill. According to him, this mill was sought to be attacked after the havoc that was caused in Mill No. 2. He says that thousands of Muslims led by a Behari doctor tried to attack the Mills. It seems that by this time at the request of Mr. Sunil Bose, one of the Directors, the military had sent some help. They tried to persuade the mob but the leader was adament. The mob attempted an attack, thereupon the military fired some shots killing the leader and the mob went away. He says that next morning some workers who went out to get some food were murdered.

Bhabri Mandal, DN-174, was a worker in Dhakeshwari Mill No. 1. Her husband, however, was a worker of D. C. No. 2. She says that when she saw fires all around, she along with her children went inside the Mills. But her husband, who was out, was killed.

Chintamani Chakravarti, DN 246, says that he lived inside D. C. No. 1, where his father was a worker. He mentions that after the attack on D.C. No. 2, there was an attack on No. 1 which was warded off partly with the help of the Chairman of U.C. But out of those Hindus who were outside the Mills, large them were killed. Many houses were burnt and girls were abducted, some of

whom were rescued after a few days with the help of the military. He and another witness say that they had to stay inside the Mill compound for number of days.

Ashwini Kumar Chakrawarti, D.N-1. He was an employee of D.C. Mill I and lived in a nearby village in Mill quarters. He says that on January 14, D.C. II on the other side of the river was attacked by aMuslim mob in the morning. He saw the attack and fire in those mills, and in the village Simalpara. The same day in the afternoon the mill quarters which were outside were attacked. The houses were looted and burnt. He says that about 150 Hindus were killed. Among them he mentions the names of some of his fellow employees. He says that he saw large number of dead bodies floating in the river Lakha for about a week. He mentions the names of his brother and another relative who were killed in D.C. Mill 2.

Godnail. Some part of Godnail appears to be very close to the L.N. Mills and many of the persons residing in this area whether they were workers of the Mills or not, ran to the Mill for safety.

Surendra Kumar Roy, DF-37, a resident of Godnail says that two days before the trouble started there was a meeting of the Muslims regarding Hazarat Bal incident. He says that sentiments were expressed at the meeting that Hindus were responsible for this theft and that retaliation should be taken against Hindus. He says that he knew the trouble was approaching. Two days later a large mob was approaching his village. He and his family started running away. His wife was carrying his youngest son in her arms. The child was hit on the head by a rod and died immediately. His other son aged 10 was similarly hit and was thrown into a pond. They did not stop and the husband and the wife along with 3 daughters ran and reached L. M. Mills at about 7 in the morning, where they took shelter. There large number of Hindus had gathered and among these he found many injured persons, some with hardly any clothes on. He says that while they were fleeing he saw Hindus being beaten and killed.

He says that just after they had entered the Mills, the primary School of the Mills, where about a thousand Hindus had taken shelter, was attacked and number of Hindus killed. He says that but for the arrival of the military later thousands of Hindus inside the Mill would have been massacred. He stayed in that Mill for 22 days.

Some other witnessess who had taken refuge in some part of L.N. Mill also mention the attack in which number of persons were killed.

Sarojini Barman, DF 141, says that when they heard the cries of 'Allah ho Akbar' during the night and early morning, she along with her children took shelter in some part of Lakshmi Narayan Mills. About 300 Hindus were in two rooms. Those who could not get in were stabbed to death. She says that there was a tank nearby which became red with blood. She says that the attackers tried to abduct the daughter of her sister-in-law but when they tried to resist, both of them were mercilessly beaten. She also says that she saw large number of dead bodies floating in the river. She says she saw a baby placed on the dead body of its mother with its mouth on her breast.

Narottam Das DF 16 Godnail, says that when the attack came he started running away but he was mercilessly beaten on the way and when he fell down he was thrown into a pond. Both his arms were fractured. He saw Hindus being killed all round. He says that he also saw three Hindu children nailed to trees and a completely dismembered body of a woman.

Chandra Mohan Dey, DF 88, Godnail, was working at the Chittaranjan Mills where he went at 5 a.m. He says that soon thereafter Muslims attacked the area and set fire to Hindu houses. Large number of Hindus ran to the Mill for safety. When the Mill was attacked the management told the attackers that it was a Government Mill and the Mill was spared. However, in the surrounding areas killing, arson and attacks on women went on all round. He says.

"From the roof of the Mill office where I took shelter, I have seen myself 15 Hindu men beaten to death. Fleeing Hindu women were molested and beaten to death by the mob. Children were killed by dashing their heads on the road."

He says that Hindu temples in that area were desecrated and the idols broken. No police were to be seen and the military came after a long time, The Ansars were taking part in the killing and looting. He says that a large number of Hindus were killed in that area and Hindu corpses were seen floating in the river for days together.

Suresh Das DF, 86, Godnail, worked in the Lakshmi Narayan Mills. He says that burning of Hindu houses in the surrounding areas had started and that the mob was

moving towards his area. His family was sent away to a safer place and he got into the Mills. Later on his family also came into the Mills as this had been made into a camp when the military came later in the afternoon. He says that large number of persons were murdered in the area.

Dhirendra Chandra Haldar, DF-47, Godnail, says that when his area was attacked on the morning of January 14 by Muslim workers from D.C. Mill No. 2, they were given shelter by a big Muslim business-man and in the afternoon they were transferred to Lakshmi Narayan Mill.

Gopal Mandal, DF-119, Godnail, worker of Lakshmi Narain Mills says that they saw the fire in the D.C. Mills and he, along with his family, rushed to seek shelter in the Lakshmi Narayan Mills. Later on when he was able to go out he found his area in Godnail completely destroyed and saw a number of corpses lying about.

Sudhanya Barman, DF-125, also of Godnail says that he saw the mob approaching his village and ran to take shelter in the L. N. Mills. From there he saw that his village was set on fire. Burning, loot and arson went on for 2-3 days and he mentions number of persons of his acquaintance, who were killed. He also says that large number of dead bodies were seen floating in the river.

Numerous witnesses from this area tell a similar story. We shall mention some of the Nos. DF-141, DF-116, DF-191, DF-141, DF-35, DF-15, DF-43, DF-3, DF-12, DF-112, DF-182, DF-189, DF-187, DF-183, DF-80, DF-87, DF-175, DF-18, DF-89, DF-116, DF-182, DF-20, DF-21, DF-23, DF-5, DF-49, DF-69, DF-56, DN-208, DF-65, DF-66, DF-68, DF-22, DF-67, DF-64, DF-61.

Simalpara. Simalpara is another small village close to Adamji Mills. The attack on this village took place on the night of January 13, 1964.

Gagan Chandra Biswas, DF-9, Sunilpara, mentions that he was living near Adamji Mills and that his village was the first victim. He was living on the southern side of his village and when the attack came, Hindus assembled in a big house and offered resistance with whatever weapons they could get. They fought for two hours and they were relieved to see the police coming.

He says "But the police helped the raiders instead of rescuing us. They gave proper directions to the mob to attack us." He says that a Muslim Khalek Sahib requested the O.C. to take the Hindus to the 'Thana' but

the O.C. refused. However, Khalek Sahib forced the O.C. to do so and himself accompanied them to the Thana from where they went to Lakshmi Narayan Mills.

Kantilal Mistry DF-76, mentions the attack in which large number of workers from Adamji Mills attacked in the night. Houses were looted and burnt. He says he took shelter in a paddy field but his younger brother was killed and he was injured and later on he was taken to the hospital by the military.

Parashnath Das, DF-147, Simalpara, refers to the attack at night and also says that the attackers made havoc in the village, plundering and burning houses. He says he saw the attackers carrying jute, petrol and sprays and pipes from the Mills. He says about 45 Hindus were killed and mentions the names of 13 persons who were killed. He mentions Daud Sahib, an engineer of Adamji Jute Mills as the leader of the attackers, along with two mistries, Abdul Satar and Abdul Bari.

Nagendra Adhikari, DF-8, refers to the attack in which his father and uncle were killed. He took refuge in the house of a Muslim but he was traced and his host tried to save him. But the attackers took him away. They wanted to kill him but one of the Muslims suggested that he may be converted. On that he was taken to the Mosque but the Maulavi did not agree.

Amulya Mridha, DF-10, referring to the attack at night says :

"We tried our best to protect ourselves but the police helped the mob, so our attempt was fruitless and raiders killed our people mercilessly. They butchered also women and children. I witnessed personally number of children thrown into the river."

He also mentions that after killing the mother they put the mouth of the child on the breast of the dead mother. His own brother was killed and his daughter was snatched away and thrown into the river. She was not recovered.

Similar statements are given by DF-77, DF-98, DF-132, DF-133, DF-135 and DF-190.

Raghunathpur. Raghunathpur is about 3 or 4 miles from Dacca city.

Jagdish Mandal, DF-83, Raghunathpur, says that it was an organised move. The local Muslims moved in groups and asked the Hindus to stay at home, assuring them that there would be no trouble. But later these

very people looted Hindu houses and the people who were fleeing for shelter in the fields were attacked. Many of the men were killed and women abducted.

Akhilchandra Mandal, DF 82. Raghunathpur, says that some Hindus who worked in Adamji Mills came back withstab injuries on their persons and told them about the disturbances. Some Muslims of Bhuighar and Delpara came to our houses and assured us that there would be no trouble. They asked for food which was given to them. But the same people started arson. People fled to the fields and they were stabbed. About 50 Hindus died. Kutubuddin Mia with whom "My father had an altercation before, suddenly assaulted my father. I used to call him 'Chacha' (Uncle) and I begged him to leave my father alone. 3 tolas of gold and Rs. 70 which my father had with him were taken by Kutubuddin." He says arson and looting was going on in the village and about 30 persons fled towards the Nishchintapur. He says that all the surrounding villages excepting Nischintapur were completely burnt. There a gang of about 50 local Muslims tried to attack them but they were repulsed. The gang returned later on in very large numbers and attacked the village and started arson on the northern side. On the other side stabbing had started. The Hindus gave them a fight and there were casualties on both the sides. Most of them then fled to Pagla. Both the previous and this witness say that in Pagla an influential Muslim, Unus Mia, gave shelter to all the Hindus, who were camped in the Bari of Nishi Poddar. When Pagla was attacked there were three armed policemen who did nothing but Unus Mia gave the attackers a fight with his gun, and later on, on his telephoning some unarmed policemen came. In spite of this generous and brave action many houses in Pagla were looted and destroyed by fire.

Suresh Chandra Das, DF-134, Raghunathpur, says that on the January 14, 1964, the village was attacked, looted and set on fire. Some persons were killed and some were thrown into a pond after their hands and legs were tied up. From there they fled to Mantal but on their being attacked there they finally got shelter in Pagla. He also mentions the courageous behaviour of Unus Mia.

Jagdish Chandra Das, DF-127, and **Mahadeo Barai, DF-129**, and DF-74, DF-118, DF-128 also mention the attack and destruction of practically the whole village and say that number of Hindus were killed.

Pancharan Mandal, DF-72, says that the Chairman of the village told them not to leave the village but when

the village was attacked the Chairman was not visible. His aunt was killed and his daughter was badly injured. DF-58 refers to this also.

Nischantpur. Nishikant Mandal, DF-94, a gardener in one of the Adamji Mills, says that large number of Muslim workers of Adamji Mills attacked Simalpara at about 10 a. m. in the morning. The witness says that he was with the attackers pretending to be a Muslim. He says that number of people were killed at Simalpara and then the mob proceeded to Siddhigunj, where again Hindu houses were attacked and set on fire and number of Hindus were killed. Thereafter he escaped to his own village. The next morning large number of Muslims attacked his village and looted and set on fire Hindu houses including his own. He says that his father, an employee in D. C. Mill No. 2 and another relation also employed in the same Mill, were killed.

Kartik Chandra Mandal, DF-146, mentions that when the attacks were going on all round many Hindus gathered together in a camp. The camp was attacked by Muslims from Delpara, Bhanghar, Mahamadpur and other nearby villages. The attackers were armed with deadly weapons and women and children ran into the nearby jungles. The persons in the camp gave a fight for some time and then being overwhelmed with numbers, fled to Pagla. As stated by earlier witness that Pagla camp was also attacked.

The attack on this village seems to have taken place on January 15, 1964.

Several other witnessess also state that they ran to Pagla DF-27, DF-2, DF-138, DF-55, DF-59, DF-165, DF-144. All these witnesses, as well as other witnesses who saved themselves by running to other places mention the fact of the resistance that was offered. We shall only mention the numbers. DF-173, DF-139, DF-169, DF-177, DF-178, DF-107, etc. Many of these witnesses give the names of some of their relations who were killed or badly injured.

Pagla. Pagla is about five miles from Dacca on the main road. It was a predominantly Hindu village. It also appears that the village is a small size town. Some of the witnesses from this village say that when the village was attacked, they resisted for some time and ultimately took shelter in the Bari of Nishi Poddar. Before, however, they could get there, number of Hindus were killed. We shall give the number of those witnesses who took shelter in that Bari. DF-34, DF-81, DF-31, DF-30, DF-39, DF-42, DF-51, DF-48, of their DF-166, DF-55, DF-174.

We shall now give a brief account of what the above and other witnesses, who also mentioned resistance, say as to what happened.

Pagal Chand Mandal, DF-51, says that people from neighbouring villages, which had been attacked, took shelter in the village. Next day workers of Adamji Jute Mills, Gani Mia Mills and Dacca Match factory, attacked his village. After resistance they took shelter in the Bari. After the trouble subsided when they went back to their own area they found it completely destroyed.

Satish Chandra Mandal, DF-48, says that before the attack came the Hindus had organised. Finally they were attacked by workers from Adamji Jute Mills, Dacca Match Factory and Bela Company. The witnesses also went and took shelter in the Bari. He says that 3 of his cousins were killed.

Similar account is given by DF-50.

Jogesh Chandra Mandal, DF-166, mentions that the attack came and the attackers were repulsed thrice, but ultimately he took shelter in the Bari. He says that two of his neighbours were killed and one other person was injured.

Umesh Chandra Sarkar, DF-34, says that on the first day a large number of people attacked them but they were repulsed. Next day they came in larger numbers and again were repulsed. On the third day they came even in larger numbers. There were many casualties on both sides. He says while this fight was going on the Muslim women attempted to loot the empty houses but they were driven away. Ultimately they went to the Bari and when Bari was attacked it was the action of Unus Mia which saved them. He says that the last attack came from the Dacca side, when attackers came in trucks.

The other witnesses who sought refuge in other places, give a similar account. Some witnesses DF-39, DF-42 also mention that the Ansars also joined the attackers.

All the witnesses describe the havoc which was wrought in different parts of the village where burning and looting had gone on. They also mention the names of the persons known to them who were killed.

We shall only give the numbers of some of these witnesses. DF-54, DF-53, DF-4, DF-14, DF-28, DF-29, DF-32, DF-26, DF-92, DF-168, DF-108, DF-109, DF-110, DF-102, DF-103, DF-104, DF-95, DF-96, DF-158, DF-159, DF-160, DF-154, DF-149, DF-150, DF-148, DF-145, DF-142, DF-222, DF-117, DF-100, DF-114, DF-115.

Although this was a predominantly Hindu village and although stout resistance was offered, there was large scale destruction and an appreciable number of Hindus were killed and but for the valient effort of Unus Mia who prevented a large scale attack on the improvised camp, the casualties would have been much heavier. Cases have also been mentioned of abduction and rape.

Pilkuni. Village Pilkuni was also attacked. One of the witnesses Tujani Mandal DF-131, was coming from Parbatipur back to his village by train. When they arrived at Tongi Station, a few miles North of Dacca, the Hindus were asked to get down and three Hindus, whose names he has given, were murdered. He escaped by pretending to be a Muslim.

When he reached his village, he saw Hindu houses including his home, looted and destroyed by fire. He also mentions that his son-in-law Sadhu Mohan Das of village Mato received knife injuries and his two grand-daughters aged 5 and 3 killed.

Man Mohan Mandal DF-120 says :

"On the morning of January 14, 1964, a band of Muslims attacked the village, looted and gutted the houses. All the Hindu houses in the village were destroyed. I was sheltered by a Muslim neighbour."

Ram Mohan Sarkar, DF-97, an employee in Narayanganj Dockyard says that on January 14, 1964, when he went to his village from his office, at noon, he found that all the houses of Hindus including his own were looted and burnt.

Pabitra Mohan Das, DF-63, who was in the market when the village was attacked says that Hindu houses were looted and burnt and he saw about 5 or 6 dead bodies.

Among the half a dozen witnesses from this village who have reported the attack, 4 of them have said that they received shelter in Muslim houses.

Miss Chapala Bannerjee and Protima Bannerjee DF 1332, both sisters, say that in 1962 their whole family migrated to India. Protima went to Pakistan for taking Matriculation (School final) Examination in December 1963. Chapala accompanied her. They reached Dacca on December 13. They stayed in the suburb of Narayangunj with grand-father Kunjlal Bannerjee and grand-mother. The examination began on December 16 and finished on December 21. They returned to India on 22nd February 1964 by IAC plane.

On January 12, Chapala was in Mill No. 1 with a relative, while Protima was in Deobhog village.

On January 12 Chapala was coming back to Deobhog in a Ricksha. Thousands of Muslims were moving about in suspicious circumstances. They were going from D.C. No. 2 Mill to Adamjee Mill. On 12th the sisters went to the house of Abdul Aziz Sardar and then to the place where a play was to be performed and Protima was to take part. After the play, the sisters went to grand-father's house. Play was to b repeated next day. As a result of the Pakistan Radio giving accounts about Calcutta riots there was alarm, so grand-father said. The grand-father was apprehensive about the girls taking part in the play on the 13th. On the 13th drama was performed. Abdul Aziz Sardar, Chairman of Narayangunj Municipality went with the girls. There were 3 stabbings near New Metro Cinema, Ram krishna Mission and third in some other place. Aziz told the girls to finish the drama quickly. After the drama the rest of the boys and girls were escorted to their houses but these two girls and Anatha Bandhu Mitra were kept in Aziz's house. They stayed the night there. The girls were kept with Aziz's wife. Aziz Sardar was Sardar of D.C. Mill No. 1. On January 14, about 2 a.m. Aziz had telephone call from General Manager, D.C. No. 1 stating that there was fire in all surrounding villages and that there were cries of **"Kill-Kill"** and that Aziz should please come and help. Aziz informed his friends and asked them to get ready to help him. Aziz and Anath went in a rickshaw. They were stopped several times. Sardar returned after 3 days (on 16th). Girls were in Sardar's house till then. They could not contact their grand-father. They had to continue in Sardar's house for one month and four days. The girls went to the 3rd floor of the house and saw fires all around. On his return, Aziz said he managed to protect Mill No. 1 but Muslims had even threatened him. He could not save any other Mill. All the Hindus of D.C. No. 1 were collected outside. He took them inside the Mill. During the riots and for 20 days thereafter the girls did not step out but talked to grand-father over the phone. Riots lasted from 13th to 16th. On the 16th evening, military came and the riots were brought under control. Curfew was imposed. Chapala's passport expired and was renewed. Pakistan passport was obtained for Protima. When the girls went to get their passports they saw a lot of burnt houses. Before coming to India they went to grand-father to collect the baggage and went back to Aziz's house. They went to Airport on 22nd from Aziz's house.

Some 15 other Hindus also took shelter in Aziz's house. Among those who took shelter were some who came from a village called Langalbandha. They had escaped in diverse ways and one of them was a girl named Sudhri who had earlier been abducted. Muslims had threatened to kill her father unless this girl married a particular Muslim. Father and mother took shelter and told Aziz about the abduction. Aziz sent his men to the village. The father of the boy who had abducted the girl also informed Aziz.

In Manoranjan Saha's house in village Lakshmankhola, there were about 20-30 Hindu families. Most of them were wounded or had extensive burns. Mother and 3 daughters were killed. Muslims set fire to houses in villages and were throwing the women and children in the fire.

Deobhog, Sunil Chandra Sarkar, DF-179, an employee in Narayangunj dockyard says that when attack was feared the Chairman of U.C. gave an assurance that Hindus would be protected. Since January 14, the Chairman had formed a vigilance party, the Hindus also joined. On January 16, 1964 the Chairman told the Hindus that it would not be possible to protect them. He advised them to go to the camp which had been set up in the house of Nidhu Babu. About 3,000 Hindus from this and the neighbouring villages took shelter there. At about 9 p.m. a large number of Muslims attacked this camp and set fire to it and everybody started running helter skelter and the women and children were screaming for help. The witness ran away and took shelter in the Lakshmi Narayan Mills where he found his wife and children. In this attack, 4 of his relations were burnt to death. His 3 years old daughter was injured. He says that during this attack Hindu houses were looted and destroyed.

Jogesh Chandra Das, DN-13, also mentions the vigilance party and the attack on the camp in which many Hindus were killed. He also says that many houses were burnt.

Naradwip Chandra Mandal, DF-91, Bariba, about half a mile from Narayangunj mentions that when his village was attacked they fled and took shelter in the fields but many of these persons, who were fleeing, were stabbed. They ran to Deobhog and took shelter in the camp at Nidhu Das's house. He says that the camp was organised by Daimuddin but when the attack came on the camp Daimuddin was helpless. Number of Hindus

were killed but the witness saved himself by pretending to be a Muslim and later on hiding himself behind the latrine of the house where he found some others, including his son and son-in-law, hiding.

Gurupada Roy. DF-180, says that he had a shop at Tanbanour. This shop was attacked on the morning of January 16, and he received two stab injuries. His shop was looted and burnt. He climbed a tree and spent the night on the tree. Next day he went to his village where he found that many Hindu houses, including his own, had been burnt down. Then he went to the house of Nidhu Das and saw dead bodies of about 25 men and women of Deobhog. He also saw children thrown in the tank. He says that about 200 were killed.

Satish Chandra Das, DN-37, says that when the attack came they started looting and burning Hindu houses and killing Hindus. He saw, as he was fleeing, large number of dead bodies and the body of a Hindu girl in the river. He went and took shelter in a large Hindu house in Palpara where large number of Hindus had collected. That place was also attacked but there was resistance and the attack was warded off.

Bedana Rani Saha, DF-184, mentions that on January 14, 1964 Muslims destroyed the hosiery factory of her husband at Kalirbazar. Next day the village was attacked and her husband fled to the house of one Netai Pal with the children. She stayed behind to collect some cash and ornaments. Before she could do so a number of assailants entered the house and inflicted a cut injury on her forehead. They snatched the valuables from her. While they were searching, fearing that she would be killed she ran out and hid herself behind some bushes. Late at night she got to Netai Pal's house through bylanes. She says that the brother of Netai Pal was killed. She pointed out the injury.

Similar are the statements of DN-143, DN-154, DF-185 and DN-226.

We have several statements from other villages in P. S. Fatulla telling similar story. We shall mention only the name of the villages. Dharamgunj, Pousher, Pushkarini Par, Kassipur, Patherapara, Sashtipup, Saikura, Nayamati, Enayet nagar, Pathantuli, Paglai Nitnagar, Gobindpur, Siddhigunj, Charigraji, Mijmigi, Daulatpur and Fatula.

Narayangunj (Town) Sita Mandal, DN-251, a resident of Sechar, but had got a rice shop at Digboy bazar.

He says that on January 14, in the morning, he went to the town and saw that stabbing of Hindus was going on. He also noticed looting and arson. He mentions the name of several persons who were killed at Taru bazar. When he returned to his area he found that the village had been ransacked and gutted. He himself was assaulted by Sohrab Mia of the same village. He gives the names of some of the persons who had attacked the village, which he learnt from his mother. One of these assailants, Habib Mia, was a member of the Union Council.

Surendra Chandra Paul, DN-245, owned a sweet-meat shop at Narayangunj. He says that on January 14, a large crowd of Muslims armed with deadly weapons had divided itself into small groups and they entered into Hindu houses. They killed whom-so-ever they met. Many Hindus were murdered near Sitalakasha Bridge and at Chasara Bridge. People bolted themselves inside the houses.

Kiran Bala Mandal, DN-93, says that when her locality was attacked and set on fire her house was looted and destroyed. They ran for safety. She said she saw many Muslims with blood stained hands.

Ranjit Kumar Pal, DN-57, says that he was at his Timber Depot at Madangunj when a mob attacked. They sprinkled petrol on the godown and set it on fire. The telephone connections had been cut off earlier. He fled by the back-door but two of the employees of the depot were stabbed to death.

Kanak Rani Dutta, DN-18, says that her husband, who was a clerk in D.C. Mill did not return home and so also 5 of the neighbours. By evening there was a military patrol and nothing happened in this area. She waited for a week and thereafter with a number of women and children, came to India.

Santosh Chandra Mandal, DN-10, a resident of Ansari Galli, had a shop at Mandalpara. He says that he had gone into town for purchasing some medicine when he saw Hindus running helter skelter. So he ran back to his house. Next morning, with his family, he went and took shelter in a safe place. When he came back on January 18, he discovered that both his house and shop had been looted. He saw a number of dead bodies lying on the road, foot-paths and other places. He also noticed quite a number of places which had been burnt down.

Gosthe Lal Das, DN-48, a mechanic residing at Bangshall Rd. says that at 10 a.m. in the morning a gang of about 100 Muslims attacked the locality and looted and burnt Hindu houses including his own. About 6 persons were killed and two girls whose names he has given were abducted. He says that some of the assailants were from his locality and he has given the names as follows:—

Gasuddin, Salimudla, Barek, Nannu and Annwar

Pulin Behari Mazumdar, DN-116, Deobogh, had a business in Narayangunj. He says that trouble first started round about different Mills by Muslim workers. Soon after he went away to his village, which was also attacked, and he narrates what happened there. He says that on the 4th day of the trouble Bunder town was attacked and burnt. Later when things had quietened down he came back and found that both his house and his business had been looted and distroyed.

Haripada Nath DN, 26, had a small 'Pan-Bidi' (betel leaf and cigarette) shop near Asha Cinema. He was at his shop on January 16, when he was attacked by 5 persons with an iron rod. He fell down. They searched him and took away whatever money he had on his person. When he became conscious he was again attacked with a knife. He escaped and took refuge in the house of one Madhu Bostani. He says that that house was broken into and the daughter of his host aged 18 was raped in the house and taken away. She came back and had to be medically treated. He says that he had hidden himself in some place in that house and where he was treated by a doctor who also happened to be hiding there. When he reached back to his village after 10 days he found the house completely looted and destroyed. Later he found his family in a camp in Narayangunj. He gives the names of four of his assailants.

Hardhan Das Kanu, DN-1337, New Chashar, Narayangunj says that early in the morning of January 14, 1964, he saw lot of smoke from the nearby village Talla and people were running. People from Talla came to his village and stated that their homes had been set on fire. Similar happenings were noticed in Bunder, from where his relations came and reported that they were beaten up. His niece was stabbed and her child taken away. The child was recovered later on. The witness and others went to the hosiery factory belonging to his brother at Chashar. On January 17, 1964 a car belonging to the Bank of Baroda was attacked on the Nitaigunj bridge.

The Muslim driver ran away but the occupants (1) Assistant Accountant, Bank of Baroda, (2) Cashier, United Industrial Bank, and (3) Two Cashiers, of Central Bank were killed and the car was set on fire and toppled into the river. This happened at 4.30 p.m. On the night of January 17, the neighbouring village North Chashar was set on fire and they could hear the screams from that village. They went to the village police station but at first the Police would not let them stay. However, they insisted and remained there. On the morning of January 18, 1964 some Hindu workers of Meera Textile came to the Police Station. They said that they had been attacked at mid-night in the village Kashipur. The houses were looted and set on fire and 200 persons were killed.

Bundar. Bundar is the port area on the river Lakha, very close to Narayangunj, but on the other bank of the river.

Paresh Chandra Barman, DN 233, Kamarpara, says ; "A very large mob of workers from various Mills set fire to Hindu localities, looted properties and murdered, Hindus. Even the local Muslims who were friendly to use joined in the attack. I, with my family, swam across the pond through ice-cold water and took shelter in the house of Dukharma where the looters had deposited a large amount of hosiery goods after assuring her that her housy would be spared. However, the Muslims from the localitf came and extracted money from us on the threat o killing us.

Later we crossed by boat to Narayangunj. Many oj the women from our locality had been rescued by an European in his launch and taken to Narayangunj. I saw a number of burnt houses and dead bodies."

Among the local assailants he recognised 19 person's One of them Kadir Mia in whose house some Hindus took shelter, drove them out and he joined the assailants. One Haque was pointing out the Hindu houses to the assailants. The last two persons mentioned along with Monnan and Anwar Sahib were members of the peace committee. The witness says that when he saw Anwar Sahib, who was the owner of a ganji (vest) Mill and relation of the magistrate, coming, he had some hope but instead he found that he was leading the mob and shouting "Kato, Kato, Salar Kato" (Cut them, cut the rascals).

Raiharan Saha, DN-235, Sonakanda, says : "The trouble started in our area in the middle of January, when there was unchecked large scale murder, abduction,

arson and looting. I had a hosiery factory. One of my Hindu worker's father, uncle, aunt and elder brother were murdered. My worker was saved, because he was at my factory at that time. The D.C. Mills were at about a distance of 3 miles and we heard that they were badly damaged. My house was set on fire. Among the attackers were a number of local people who had joined the Mill workers."

The area in which he lived was a prosperous business locality and since the assailants were busy looting, many people were able to escape to the other side of the river. Entire Bundar looked like a desolate place after this attack.

Srinath Chandra Barman, DN-207, Bundar town, says that stray cases of stabbing and arson had started on January 14, but a large scale attack started on January 16. At about 10 a.m. I saw a Hindu Abani Thakur being stabbed to death in Bundar bazar. Witness was wearing a loongi (usual Muslim dress) but he heard some one mentioning his name and he ran away and managed to get home where he collected his family and started running for safety. He begged for shelter from a number of Muslims but they refused. Ultimately he says that one, Hakim Kari who was previously a notorious man, but after his return from pilgrimage turned into a very decent man, gave them shelter for some time. He allowed the women to remain in the house for safety and advised the men to find shelter elsewhere. He ran towards the Municipal house when he was about to be attacked by two persons who were taking away a Singer Sewing Machine, but was saved by two local Muslims and two armed police. In the afternoon he, along with others, crossed over to Narayangunj and took refuge in a big house in Nayamati, a thickly populated area of well to do Hindus, and stayed there for sometime till he left for India.

Sarojini Saha, DN-200, Bundar, says : "Muslims plundered and burnt Hindu houses and killed many Hindu men, women and children. Her husband was very severely beaten and her nephew dragged out of the house and killed in her presence. She managed to cross over to Narayangunj, and when she was returning after 3 days to her house, she saw a number of dead bodies floating in the river. Among these was also the body of her nephew. She says it was a horrible scene."

Sadhana R. Aich, DN-201, Bundar (Puran), says that when the trouble started she along with her children was sent away to Narayangunj but her husband and nephew were killed. Her sister-in-law was molested.

Snehalata Saha, DN-93, Bundar, says that on January 16, 1964, a group of Muslims were trying to break open the door of her house. She, however, left from the backside with her children and took shelter in Jai Govind High School in Narayangunj. Her husband had a stationery shop in Narayangunj and she came to know that night that he was killed by a group of Muslims on his way back home.

Gopi Nath Mali, DN-84, and Haripada Barman, DN-85, Bundar, mention the killing of Abani Master and Gosta Shah in their presence.

Haridas Barman, DN-86, Bundar, says that during the attack number of houses of Hindus, including his own, were looted and burnt.

Fatik Chandra Das, DN-78, Bundar, states that when the attack came he and many others started running for their lives. He was felled with a lathi (long staff) and became unconscious. Later he reached a relief camp. He says that the Lakha river was full of dead bodies and a circular was issued to prevent the use of water till further notice. Fishing was also stopped.

Gouranga Chandra Dutta, DN-50, Bundar, says that one night at about 1 a.m. four Hindu Timber dealers' stock was set fire to by the Muslim miscreants. He was present there at that time. The devotional place of Lalji was looted and burnt to ashes. Other three grocery shops of Hindus were looted and burnt. After 2 weeks he went to Bundar and found his house looted and burnt. Other houses of Hindus were also burnt and looted.

Milan Rani Das, DN-40, Bundar, says that her house was set on fire. They ran out but the hooligans obstructed them. Her husband was carrying their daughter and moving, when they pulled the daughter from him, hit him with an iron rod and stabbed him in the stomach. The daughter was thrown at the wall where she lay with a broken knee. They came to assault her when one Muslim gentleman rushed in to stop all this. Later he helped her to get into a relief camp.

Haripada Dey, DN-189, Bundar, says :

"Riot broke out on January 15, 1964, in our area in the evening. For four days there was no law and order. About five thousand Muslim miscreants raided us. About 250 Hindus were killed by them. About 50 Hindu women were abducted or raped. Almost all the Hindu

dwellings were gutted and looted. We were rescued by the Americans and given shelter in Bird & Co. Pvt. Ltd. Narayangunj. The Pak police with arms and ammunitions were idle spectators when the miscreants created an atmosphere of savagery."

Lal Mohan Roy, DN-197, Bundar, mentions the attack and says that most of the Hindu houses were looted and burnt and a number of persons were killed. Shiv temple and Hari Thakur's place were burnt. He says he saw a large number of dead bodies on the road as well as floating in the river.

Jyotsna Rani Saha, DN-144 Bundar, says :

"On January 16, 1964, when Muslim mob came to attack our village, we, members of Hindu families of the village, took shelter in a Muslim house. The owner of that house was absent and his wife gave us shelter. At 4 p.m. a Muslim mob came and set fire to that house. We were trying to get out. But they stood on the door side with daggers and bamboo sticks. The Muslim lady of that house was allowed to go outside by the mob. They did not allow us to go outside. Then we broke open a window of a tin-shed and got out by that passage. I went to the riverside but was unable to find out my husband and my children. On way to the riverside, four Muslims attacked me and placed a dagger on my neck. Then they snatched away my gold ornaments and money. I went to Narayangunj. On January 18, 1964 I found my husband and children, after 5 days."

Ranibala Chakrabarty, DN-124, Bundar (Purana) mentions that they were living in a Muslim house as tenant. When they heard that riot had broken out at Dhakeshwari Mills and other places, they sought police help. Police took money from them. Their land-lord and police gave them word that they would save them. But when the police and the land-lord went out, some non-Bengali Muslims attacked the house. They went to another house by back door. Muslim, their land-lord, gave them shelter for the night. Next day this man was taking them to police camp when Muslim goondas attacked them on their way with knife, iron rod and sword. When her husband was attacked she tried to save him. They stabbed her and beat her severely with rod. She became senseless. When she came to senses, she saw her husband lying dead. There were also other 10 to 12 dead bodies. Then she began to search for her children. She found her youngest daughter in a field. Her eldest daughter took shelter in a Muslim house. But

this Muslim wanted to marry her. Then she went to another house where she was beaten. Then she got shelter in another house.

Kanailal Dey DN 31, Bundar (Purana). says :

"I saw that a meeting was taking place in the market place. After the meeting was over the attack began. The miscreants started killing Hindu men, women and children indiscriminately. He and some other Hindus took shelter in a Muslim house where they had to pay Rs. 50/- per family. The witness says that he came to know later on that this man was one of those who engineered the trouble. He says that his uncle and his brother had gone out to get some water when the uncle was stabbed, his brother tried to save him but both of them were killed."

Amulya Chandra Gangooli, DN-9, Bundar (Purana) mentions that local Muslims said that they would protect the Hindus but they wanted a large sum for doing so. On being denied this they killed 8 Hindus in the area. In the morning they started looting the houses and burning them. His house was looted and it being a brick house the miscreants broke it up and took away the bricks, doors, windows etc. He adds that there was extensive arson in the village and large number of Hindus were killed. He has given the names of some of the Hindus who were killed, One of them was his uncle-in-law and the rest his neighbours. His mother-in-law received several knife injuries. He gave the name of five of the assailants among whom was Paramolla, a member of Union Council.

There are many other statements from Bundar and Bundar Purana which give similar stories. Some of them are DN 17, DN 27, DN 28, 29, 30, DN 134, DN 88, DN 149, DN 153, DN 158, DN 113. DN 122, DN 121, DN 5, DN 33, DN 38, DN 234, DN 241.

All of these witnesses say that their houses were looted and destroyed and that some of these witnesses have lost their near relation as a result of these attacks.

We must mention here that in this locality number of these witnesses found shelter in Muslims' houses. Kazi Shamsuddin, the Chairman of the U.C. has been referred to by a number of witnesses as having rendered great help to many of these unfortunate people. According to many of these witnesses the lead in the terror which was let loose was taken by Behari Muslims who were the migrants after partition and Noakhali Muslims. But they also say that the local Bengli Muslims had also joined in the attacks.

Langal-bandha Langal-bandha is a place of pilgrimage on the banks of the river Brahmaputra. On Ashtami day the Hindus congregate in this place for bathing in the sacred river. A ghat, viz, steps which lead from the top of the bank to the water, had been named after Mahatma Gandhi. During the attack this was demolished by the attackers. Number of temples were also destroyed and Ashrams of Sadhus Lalit and Makodi were razed to the ground. It appears that very large number of Hindus had taken shelter in these temples as also in a number of rest-houses for pilgrims. They were mercilessly butchered.

Premda Sundari Paul, DN-117, a potter of Langalbandha, says that the trouble started with looting and this went on for a day or two. During this time many Hindus took shelter in the bazar which was attacked by large gang of Muslims and who "started killing people including women and children indiscriminately. They snatched away suckling children from the arms of their mothers, killed them in one stroke as one breaks an egg, and then threw them in the river. They threw the dead and mutilated bodies of older persons also in the river The water of the river turned red, the surface strewn with innumerable bodies." She says that one of the persons killed, was her son aged 20 and her brother-in-law aged 65. She mentions, apart from these two, three names of her relatives who were also killed. She says that every Hindu house had been looted and that the majority of Hindu houses were burnt and large number of Hindus were killed. She also mentions 10 to 15 cases of abduction of women who were later on recovered by the military.

Santosh Chandra Datta, DN-169, Chiriparu, mentions that it was a shocking experience of the past which still haunted them. Thousands of miscreants made brutal demonstration in the village. He adds that it was in the morning when the attack came. Hindus went out and took shelter in a field but felt that it was not a safe zone. They approached the local Muslims to give them shelter, but they refused. They went from door to door and found no shelter. That night they passed in a jungle. As they had no shelter (their houses burnt and everything looted) they all went to the Langalbandha Hat (Market) and thought they might be safer there. But they never knew that the worst was still to happen. The Muslims gave them false promise that day when they found that the market was also raided. There was mass-murder. Even the children were not spared. The assailants threw the dead bodies in the river Brahmma-

putra. Children were taken from mother's breasts and smashed on the ground. Women shrieked in fear. There was groaning everywhere. It was a terrible day.

She gives the names of five of her near relatives who were killed. One of them was her son who died in the market. So did her brother and brother-in-law and two children of her brother.

Sumati Bala Paul, DN 243, Kamta, say :

"At 7 a.m. on January 14, 1964 a group of Muslims came and looted our house. We left the house and took shelter in a bamboo thicket but the mob followed us. Then we took shelter in the house of a local Muslim. At mid-night he drove us out and again we took shelter in a bamboo thicket. On the next day we took shelter in a P.W.D. office. But at night they refused to give us any protection and told us to leave the place. Again we took shelter in a bamboo thicket. On January 16, we went to Langal bandha camp at 6 a.m. but unfortunately the camp was attacked by a Muslim mob on that day at 4 p.m. They killed many Hindu men and women, abducted young Hindu girls and raped them."

She further adds:

"My husband and myself were injured by iron rods struck on our heads. At 10 p.m. the Muslim organiser of the camp announced that Hindu women should marry the Muslims. They declared that it was Government's order. Then we left the camp and took shelter at Baidyer bazar."

Kiranbala Dutta, DN 202, Kamtal : says,

"On January 14, 1964 (Tuesday) at about 5 a.m. about 100 Muslims raided our village. They began to loot our village. We left our house and hid ourselves in the jungle. After looting houses they set them on fire. Next day we went to Dharamsala at Langalbandha. From there we went to Langalbandha market. On Thursday we were told to adopt Islam. Many Hindus were assembled there. At about 3 p.m. a gang of non-Bengali Muslims came with deadly weapons and attacked us. Local Muslims joined them. They killed mercilessly irrespective of men and women. They did not spare even babies of one month. My son and my two grand-daughters were killed. My grand-daughter aged only one month was thrown into the river. This child was taken away from her mother's lap. They took

away another grand daughter forcibly from my lap and cut her into pieces. I closed my eyes. My daughter-in-law and myself then hid ourselves on the heap of dead bodies. There were many dead bodies. We cried for help. But nobody came to save us. We spent the night with the dead and at 4 a.m. left the place and went to the house of a member of U.C. But this Member, Hasenali refused us shelter. We then spent the day in the jungle. I saw many dead bodies floating in the river and also scattered on the way. Jackals and Vultures were eating the corpses."

Kiran Bala Das, DN 20, of Langalbandha, says that she noticed fire early in the morning of January 14 and heard cries of "Allah ho Akbar." She says that that evening her house was looted and the next day her house was destroyed. They spent 2 nights in the jungle without food. On January 16, some Muslims advised them to go to Langalbandha market. They reached there at about 3p.m. Soon thereafter they were attacked and they began to kill Hindus mercilessly. She became separated from her husband and two of her children. She and her brother-in-law ran towards the river carrying two young children when a Muslim snatched her 3 months old girl and in her presence dashed her against the road. They jumped into the river but they were followed. Her daughter aged 4 was decapitated. She was hit on the head and her brother-in-law was struck on the neck with a knife and he fell down into the water bleeding profusely. By that time she got out of the river and went on walking aimlessly, she met 3 women in a similar plight but one Imarali Mia took pity on them and sheltered them. After two days her husband met her. He was severely injured. After a few days they went to Narayanganj where they were admitted in the hospital. She gives the names of 10 men and women of her acquaintance who were killed.

Gitarani Das, DN 101, Kamtal, describes the attack in her area and says that her house was looted and burnt on January 14. They took shelter in the betel leaf orchard. They were advised by some Muslims to go to Langalbandha market. She describes the attack on the market and says ;

"They killed the children by throwing them against the wall or throwing them into the river. When I was running madly with my child on my hip, they killed a man in front of me and stabbed me on the back. I did not look for my father-in-law or mother-in-law. With this wound I ran madly, I stumbled against dead bodies to every step."

Then she went back to the orchard and later she was given shelter by *Muslim* in his house, who hid her under haystacks.

Sandhya Rani Sarkar, DN 171, Langalbandha, says:

"On the last day of Paush some local Muslims informed that riot might happen in the village. Hindus should go to Rajghat for their safety. All the members of our village went to Rajghat. It was about 3 p.m. when non-Bengali Muslims attacked Rajgat with knives iron rods etc. They began to massacre. We tried to escape. But many of the Hindus were killed. Children were thrown into the river. Young girls were abducted and raped and molested. Male members were stabbed to death. It was a horrible scene. We four young girls were attacked. Three of us were taken away. When they tried to take me away, *military* arrived and the miscreants fled away. Military took us to Bandar camp. Most of the miscreants came from Adamji Mill."

Guru Chandra Rajbanshi, DN 36, Tajpur (Langaanda) says:

"Some local Muslims advised us to take shelter inside the Mosque of Langalbandha Bazar, where many Hindu families had already taken shelter. After some time about 1,000 Muslims, including boys, came out in a violent mood and started loot at the point of dagger. We were forced to leave Mosque and take shelter wherever we could, for we feared, that the infuriated mob would attack the mosque, if they knew Hindus were hiding here. I ran without a thought for my family. On the way one miscreant stopped me and I had a clash with him. He stabbed me in my right forearm and hit me on the left shoulder joint; the hand since then is in paralytic state, and took from me Rs. 150, which I had hidden in my person. I climbed on a tree and remained there for four hours at night. I came to my village later at night The village had the look of a vast cremation ground —every house thoroughly ravaged and gutted, things scattered and destroyed—not a soul to be seen anywhere. In all the surrounding villages, havoc and holocaust were in full swing, with shouts and threats that filled the still night air and the glow of fire which filled the the whole sky. That very night I crossed the Brahmaputra river and took shelter in the house of Chand Mia of village Majherchar, a known Muslim. While going there I identified 3 bodies, lying dead, of our neighbours.

The questioner saw the scars and the paralytic hand.

Jogumaya Hildar, DN 60, Langalbandha, Joharpur, says that her village was attacked and set on fire, number of persons were killed. Among them were three of her brothers.

Deven Chandra Paul, DN 113, Langalbandha, says that 3 of his brothers were killed and his sister-in-law and niece were severely injured.

Sushama Rani Paul, DN 104, says that when her area was attacked and set on fire they ran for shelter in the jungles. Three days later when they tried to come out of the jungle, large number of people including her husband were killed. She and one Sochi Rani Paul, her sister aged 14, were both raped by assailants who threatened them with an open knife. Her gold earrings were snatched away.

We have a number of other statements of the persons who had taken shelter in the market of Langalbandha, who describe what happened in the market. We shall only give numbers of statements of some of them. DN 59, DN 97, DN 102, DN 136, DN 155, DN 173, DN 179, DN 180 and DN 238.

Mirkundi. Swarnalata Paul, DN 214, Mirkundi, says that on January 14, 1964 a group of local Muslims came to Hindus of the village and gave warning about the riot. They told them to leave the village as the non-Bengali Muslims were coming. Hindus went to the house of the President of U.C. but were refused shelter by his father, Jalal Sardar. Then they went to another Muslim house but were again refused shelter, but were told that they (Muslims) could help them to take shelter in Narayangunj proper. On this they started for Narayangunj with those Muslims in a group of 15 women and 12 men.

On way to Narayangunj they separated men and women and killed all the 12 men of their group in front of them. Her husband was also killed with those 12 men. Then they were crying. Two Muslim young men came and rescued them and shifted to Hossainpur High School. She adds that a young girl was abducted from their group by those miscreants on way to Narayangunj. After 7 days she was rescued by the Military in a painful condition.

Nanda Datta, DN 13. His area was attacked and the witness says that they took shelter in Muslim houses but at night they were turned out and they tried to go to the

fields. Many were massacred and some women were raped there and afterwards killed. He says about 60 persons including women were murdered. He gives the names of 5 of the local people whom he recognised. Among the persons killed was a 10 year old niece of his. He also gives the names of three girls who were raped. Two of them were traced and rescued and one of them not traced.

Nikhil Chandra, Das, DN 34, says on Poush Sankranti at about 11 a. m. a gang of Muslims came and the local Muslims joined them. They set fire to the house of Raj Behari Biswas a member of U. Board. Thereafter they looted and burnt practically all the Hindu houses. About 50 persons were murdered by the mob. We saught help from the Chairman but he did not give it. "I paid Rs. 150/-for my safety to Manta Mia a leader of the gang That, however, did not help. Manta snatched away Rs. 500/- from my mother and ornaments from my wife the next day." He gives the names of the leaders of the gang.

Labanya Rani Paul, DN 182, describes the attack and says Hindu houses were burnt and Hindu men and women were killed. She along with some others was on her way to take shelter in the Hossuinpur High School. On their way they were again attacked and some money was snatched away from her. Three of her relations, whose names she has given, were killed.

Amarchand Das, DN-137, says that during the attack his house and shop were burnt and he himself was injured. He and his family were given shelter for the night in a Muslim house but next day they were asked to leave. He gives the names of Manta and Buddha and others as the persons attacking his house.

Kandani Biswas, DN-146, describes the attack and says that no police or Ansars were seen for 5 days during which looting and killing went on unchecked.

Similar are the statements DN-68, DN-105, DN-141, -DN 152, DN-185, DN-191, DN-204, DN-209 and DN-224.

Bajargaon. Similar are the statements from Bajargaon village. Here also names of persons killed and injured and in many cases names of the assailants have been given. In this area also there were numerous cases of rape and abduction. We shall give some of the numbers of the statements. DN-2, DN-6, DN-7, DN-11 and DN-58.

Digaldi. Similar stories are from Digaldi. One of the witnesses Anil Chandra Mandal, DN-218, says that when they were escaping at Shadbi Kali bazar there was large scale raping of women in board daylight. He says that none was spared. Among the persons responsible for this, whose names he has given, was Fazal Mia, Chairman of U.C. Burundi. Three brothers-in-law of this witness were injured and uncle-in-law was killed. They were all from Satpandi village.

We shall give the numbers of the statements of other witnesses. DN-110, DN-111, DN-112, DN-126, DN-156, and DN-211.

Nitaigunj. Kshirodi Bala Dasi, DN 168, an old woman of 65 says that during the attack her house along with others was looted. Her son was killed. She ran along with young grand-daughter aged 14, for shelter. On the way goondas tried to snatch her granddaughter but the old woman clung on to the girl. The girl was badly injured. She says that Hindu bodies floated in the river Lakha, and truck-loads of Hindu dead bodies were taken past her village. Vultures, kites and crows fell on the dead bodies by day and Jackals by night and that owing to the terrible smell it was impossible to walk by the side of the river and for at least two weeks water could not be used.

Sham Charan Das, DN-133, says that during the attack his house and shop were burnt and three of his cousins were killed.

Lakshi Kant Das, DN-161, similarly describes the attack on his village. He says that his wife and a daughter who were in a village Tarpalay in Tejgaon, were killed along with the whole family.

Similar are the statements of DN-162, DN 163 and DN-196.

Ekrampur, Ekrampur was quite close to Ispahani Jute Mills. This village was attacked by the workers of these Mills on the night of January 14, 1964 along with others.

Surya Narayan Barman, DN-82, says that 5 houses were set on fire but on payment of Rs.2,000/- the rest were spared that night. However, on January 17, 1964 the village was again attacked and all Hindu houses were burnt. He gives the names of Kalu Mia and his brother among the assailants.

Similar are the accounts given by witnesses DN-79, DN-164, DN-165, DN-166, DN-192 and DN-221.

We do not propose to give a detailed account of what happened in other villages in P. S. Narayangunj, because the story essentially is the same story of loot, arson and murder and a few cases of rape. The holocaust which began on the night of January 13, continued unabated for at least 5 days, although Narayangunj is only about 9 miles away from Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan. The widespread atrocities which began almost simultaneously lead us to the only conclusion that this was a preplanned affair of which Government could not have been unaware The incitement which had started after the Hazarat Bal incident was still going on. It immediately led to wide spead trouble in Khulna which had not yet abated and which should have made the Government wary. But instead of this Pakistan leaders, their news papers and the radio kept on blaring the same voice of Jehad and revenge against the Hindus with the inevitable result in the destruction of Hindu lives and properties difficult even to estimate. As in Khulna district, here also the exodus which began soon after the atrocities in Khulna, has not yet been halted. The reason for this is the total lack of securitv for the non-Muslim minorities, as described by every witness we have examined.

We shall rest content with mentioning the names of the villages which were the unfortunate victims of this mob fury. Bariakhali, Bhagwangunj, Chiraipara, Tejpur, Govindkul, Dassargaon, Tinggaon Jaharpur, Saharup, Bazar, Bongaan Lamba Bardi, Dhamgarh, Barpara, Cochimara, Kalinagar, Kalibari, Panchamighat, Nandipara, Anand Nagar, Kashipur, Ramgali, Nabigunj, Kumarpara, Banipar, Masaba, Nagar Khanpur.

Dacca Town, Nirmal Chandra Day, DTN-1 Nathartai Bazar, says that on January, 13,1964, a meeting regarding Hazarat Bal was held in the stadium at Dacca. Witness, feeling the tension, took his family to Munshi Gunj. He returned later on and found his house had been looted and set on fire. This had happened on January 14, 1964.

Sabitri Boral, DC-1, was a third year student of nursing and midwifery in Dacca Medical College Hospital and resident in the nurses' quarters. She says that a large number of Hindus with stab and other wounds were brought to the hospital in heavy trucks and admitted into the hospital. Many of the indoor patients were discharged in order to make room for the injured. Some of these discharged patients were admitted in Mitford Hospital.

No other hospital excepting the Medical College Hospital admitted victims of the assaults. About noon on January 14, a large number of injured began to arrive in the hospital. Among them was one J. C.

Ghosh, a well-known business man. He died in the hospital.

We got the information that the large number of wounded and dying persons were lying on the roadside on the way to Narayangunj. The hospital authorities sent a truck to bring them to the hospital.

The capacity of this hospital was about 1,100 but many more than that were already in the hospital and other injured persons had to wait for admission. There were 26 wards in this hospital. Rush of injured persons was so heavy that every available inch of space had to be utilised. The patients from the city, Narayangunj and surrounding areas were being brought all the time.

The death rate in each ward was about 20 to 30 per day.

On the night of January 14, there were three Hindu and one Muslim patients in one small room. The Muslim had accidentally received a gun-shot wound. He unfortunately died and a rumour was spread that Hindu nurses were injecting poison into Muslim patients. As a result of this rumour the jamadars (sweepers), ward-boys along with some miscreants collected at the back of the nurses, hostel. The matron separated the Hindu from the Muslim nurses' charging the Hindu nurses with poisoning. The Hindu nurses were not allowed to go into the hospital and were locked into the hostel. Luckily Dr. Alam, a professor in the College, who performed the post mortem on the next day, declared that death was not due to any poison and he asked the Hindu nurses to rejoin duty.

This did not satisfy the Jamadars, ward-boys and others who tried to attack the hostel. Then the police came and fired a few shots and the rioters dispersed.

For about 3 days there was complete chaos in Dacca. On 14th and 15th about 1,000 patients died. On the 16th the Governor and the Health Minister were coming to the hospital. Before they came number of patients were discharged. The Superintendent of the hospital Sham Suddin Ahamad showed only 508 injured persons as admitted owing to the disturbances when the Governor and the Health Minister visited the hospital. No Hindu dead body was handed over to the relatives but was removed to some place for disposal.

Prithi Rani Saha, DC-2.

Witness was a teacher in Vidyarthi Bhavan andalso Superintendent of minority Girls hostel at Ramkrishna Road, largely a Muslim area.

When we heard about the attacks on January 13, we became panicky. One Miss Sofia Khatun, a Professor in Eden Girls College, and her brother who was a C.I.D. Inspector got some constables posted there on January 13 and 14. On January 15, the general situation in Dacca had deteriorated and Mrs. Rokeya Kabir a Professor of Eden College came to our hostel along with the editor of Sangbad and tried to get more help from the police but no such help came. Therefore, they took the 40 girls from the hostel, put them in cars and were taking them to University Womens Hall when an attempt was made to attack them near the Itefaq Office but the editor and women Professor managed to prevent it. The provost of the hall did not allow the girls to stay more than that night because that hostel was being threatened. Therefore, Mrs. Kabir sought assistance from the Deputy Commissioner, Dacca and Director of Pubic Instruction who were on the board of the minority hostel but no help could be obtained and the girls were taken to the houses of her various relations in Romna area where they remained for 15 days before they left for Calcutta by air, thanks to the arrangements made by Mrs. Kabir.

The witnes says that in Ramkrishna Mission, Tikatuli, two Hindus were stabbed to death on January 15.

Bani Bhaban. a minority boys' hostel at Iswar Das lane was broken into and completely looted. The boys ran away and took shelter in a camp.

She also mentions the attack on Nari Shiksha Mandir Girls High School where at noon the miscreants broke into the School and killed Abani Guha Roy, a head clerk, and a senior teacher was stabbed on the back.

While the attack was going on a young man Hamid Ali jumped into the school compound and started shooting at miscreants with his revolver. The name of the stabbed teacher was Jagajiban Bose.

Jagajiban Bose, DC-3. He was a senior teacher in in Nari Shiksha Mandir Girls' School.

During the Second week of January 1964, excited, rather restless atmosphere was observed all over the city

of Dacca, and movement of a particular class of people seemed suspicious - Communal tension became high and alarming - Radio and personal propaganda announcing false rumours, such as so called Greater Calcutta killing of peaceful Muslim citizens. Just after the Khulna riot where we learnt, more than 20 to 25 thousand ruffians and Mill-hands were allowed to enter the town of Khulna at a time with deadly weapons and in excited mood one evening. They were already being excited by constant propaganda of top rank authorities, such as Mr. Sabur, Minister and others. The police were inactive. Labour class people were constantly excited and induced to attack and kill minority Hindus whose number was tolerably high in Khulna area. There were also Christians and Buddhists in large number in Mangala Port. They killed and destroyed property from Khulna to Bagerhat Road side, as stated and published even in local newspapers of Dacca. Thus, we the minority Hindus and the Christians, particularly the educated section, naturally became anxious and apprehended serious danger in the city of Dacca, because the Muslim migrants and common people coming from West Bengal and Calcutta area were spreading all such rumours, which caused the outbreak of serious communal disturbance organised and planned by government and a class of Muslim Mill owners. The riot-mongers began to spread more false rumours that in West Bengal working class people, mostly Hindus were determined to destroy Muslim Bustees (slum areas) and other properties. Colourful rumours of havoc and massacre and exciting propaganda created the back-ground for unprecedented and inhuman atrocities in Dacca area that cannot be compared with any parallel incident anywhere in the World. The January communal disturbances in Pakistan surpassed all previous records and it seemed that there was no police or government organisation for some days to come.

We also noticed that in areas of Dacca like Wari, Ticatuly and in every prominent place, road-side walls were covered with slogans in bold type, "KILL HINDUS"—"HINDU, MARWARI MARO" (Kill Hindus and Marwaris)—slogans of this nature were also heard here and there ; and whenever they got opportunity, the little boys rose against stray Hindus individually and pelted stones at them here and there.

We also learnt that some prominent minority Hindu leaders approached Mr. Moneim Khan, Governor of East Pakistan, Dacca requesting him, in a joint representation, whether he would protect Hindus, their life and property

and whether the Governor wished Hindus to stay or leave Pakistan ? At this, the Governor avoided them with the evasive reply that he was leaving Dacca for West Pakistan to meet **High Command at Rawalpindi** :

However, leaving aside those digressions, I just get down to my personal affairs.

I am 58, and a graduate from the Dacca University.

I was a senior teacher in the Nari Siksha Mandir Girls High School, Dacca-3 East Pakistan—for a period of 6 years. As to my identification I possess an operation mark on my forehead, which may please be noted here. While in Pakistan school service, I had been living at 20, Hatkkola Road, Dacca-3 ; and that my permanent home address is "Kuthi Bari", P.O. Rajanagar. The village stands on the river Ichhamati. Population of the village being about 5,000—Hindus and Muslims—in half and half proportion—But after partition most of the Hindu population, especially caste Hindus, left their hearths and homes. Their landed properties, dwelling houses were mostly occupied by local influential Musalmans, enjoying them free without any embarrassment. Hindu population is now 20%.

Personally I have left about 3 acres of high lands, pucca building with 6 rooms, pucca yard, fruit garden, tanks and agricultural plot of lands-valuation approximately Rs. 23,000/-.

I used to live in Dacca city, occasionally visiting the village home, which was under a caretaker—a Muslim, whom recently the Chairman of the Union has driven out and my home and building is being allotted to a refugee family.

The school was going to be closed on that day for the Ramzan holidays and the distribution of the progress reports and the filling up of forms and payment of salaries were to be made. Myself and the head-clerk reached the school at 10 a.m. Abani Guha Roy's house in Bonogram had been attacked the previous night and he had taken shelter at the camp at Wyre Street from where he had come to the school. 30 Muslim girls alone were there for the results and no Hindu girl had come, as looting, arson, stabbing and killing had occurred the previous night at Nababpur, Dacca, Narayangunj and Bonogram. All the girls except 3 left the school at 11 a.m. These three wanted to fill up their forms. At about noon we heard the sound of breaking open the main gate. The attackers had surrounded the school. The teachers and the girls were in a room and the others were elsewhere on the premises. The Muslim attackers were armed with daggers and iron rods. We tried to hold the door but it was broken open and Abani Roy was stabbed to death.

I was stabbed on the back thrice. One Hamid Ali jumped inside the school premises with his revolver and started firing and the attackers fled. I was removed to the hospital where I remained for 17 days.

He has related that he was told by Hiralal Chatterji, residing at Bonoram Rd., that that locality was attacked at about mid-night when the attackers started looting, setting fire to houses and stabbing. In his house four families consisting of 11 members were residing. All these 11 persons were stabbed. Four of whom died immediately Hiralal along with his son went from the roof to inform the police He came back with the police but during his absence his two daughters and his wife were seriously injured. Her arms were badly fractured and they were brought to the Medical College Hospital.

A relation of his, Geeta Ghosh, was going to Barisal from Calcutta via Khulna. At Khulna Station the miscreants started attacking the Hindus inside the compartments. Luckily in their compartment there was a Muslim family and she was given a 'Burkha' to cover herself.

The witness has related another incident of a young Hindu who was taken out of a bus near Tongi bus line and stabbed in his abdomen and left for dead. When he regained consciousness he tried to bandage himself after tearing some of his clothes. This was noticed and the miscreants put lot of hay on him and set it on fire.

The witness says that when he was in the hospital he had seen many patients with stab, gun-shot and other injuries. He mentions the case of a young girl from Simalpara area who was brought to the hospital. Her house was broken into and looted. The miscreants thrust an iron rod through her vagina. The doctors said that she might survive this attack.

While in the hospital the witness heard from the staff that 2 morgue rooms were full of dead bodies.

The witness relates another case. One Gokul Chandra Paul was residing at Bonogram Road. He also had his tailoring shop there. The house was attacked and this man, his brother, son, and wife were killed. They spared the daughter who was a student of Eden College, but put her under a Burkha and started marching her along with

themselves. On the way she saw a Muslim friend of her father and shouted to him and she was saved.

Mrs. Sujata Ghosh, DC-4, was employed as Head Mistress in Nari Siksha Mandir, Girls High School, Dacca She says that a number of miscreants, non-Bengali Muslim goondas with deadly weapons attacked the school premises, breaking open the main gate and stabbed two of her school staffs—one teacher and other the head clerk—the later case became fatal and died in a short time—the other was removed to the hospital and came round in 17 days and left Pakistan for good and arrived in Calcutta on March 1, 64.

In nearby village, about 4 miles from Dacca, the miscreants killed the old mother and sister-in-law of late Abani Guha, head clerk, Nari Siksha School and the goondas also murdered the old mother of Profullya Guha, on the office staff of Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills.

In Damra village, near Dacca town the cousin sister of Sunil Bose. Rg Director, D. C. Cotton Mills along with her children, numbering 5, were murdered on the spot—only the lady was removed to hospital where she succumbed.

The witness adds that in Lal Rohan Saha Street, Dakshin Maishandi, Dacca, the house and building of Dr. C.M. Banik, along with all furniture, huge stock of medicines, household goods and the 3 storeyed building all were burnt to ashes-Dr. C.M. Banik was the Secretary of Nari Siksha Mandir. In the same street, their lady teacher Miss Krishna Mukherji lost all her belongings, as the said house was also burnt to ashes with petrol and other inflammable material.

Dr. C. M. Banik lost stock of goods, furniture, building, cash amounting to about Rs. 2 lacs. The incident happened in the night of January 14, 1964. About 3 to 4 hundred miscreants forcibly entered the house of Dr. C. M. Banik and set fire to the house and next day in the presence of armed police the goondas broke open the iron chest. The Police were absolutely inactive.

Four shops of famous Sodhana Oushadhalaya were looted and the shop of Dass & Co. Photographers, was burnt and the shop of O.K. Photographers and a cycle shop at Nawabpur were looted. One sweetmeat shop was looted. Approximate loss was more than one lac in all.

Nithar Ranjan Chatterji, DC-5.

He was living in staff quarters in East regional laboratories, P. C. S. I. R. (Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Dacca).

A little before Ramzan, attacks on Hindus started in the older parts of Dacca. In the beginning houses, shops, restaurants and hotels belonging to Hindus were looted. Later on arson and murder began and violence spread from the city to Narayangunj and other adjoining suburbs and areas. For the first 2 or 3 days the Government did nothing. Most of the houses and shops in Nawabpur, Thatari Bazar, Paulpara and other areas were looted and burnt. One of his relatives, also working in the laboratory, was killed and another relative, also working in the same place, was injured.

During the trouble the police refused to give any assistance on the ground that no police was available. He adds "We passed the following days and nights helplessly amidst looting, arson and killing." He says that when the trouble began he was told by some policeman that they had no orders to fire and that they were afraid of taking any action. Although some police officers were sympathetic, they were helpless.

He says that many Bengali Muslims in Dacca did not like what was going on but they were not bold enough to say anything. The majority of the miscreants were the non-Bengali Muslims who were creating this havoc. He says that the educated Bengali Muslims became very frightened and asked their neighbouring Hindus to take shelter in camps. A few, however, gave shelter. He also says that 3 respectable Muslims were killed while trying to protect Hindus. According to him the number of Hindus killed was very large but the number was difficult to estimate.

Witness XY an M. Sc. student DC-6.

He resided at Jagannath Hall in Dacca.

The trouble started on January 14, 1964. January 15 was the worst day. About 400 Hindu men, women and children took refuge in the Assembly hall and remained there for 10 days. Then the Government compelled them to leave.

One of the refugees was a carpenter from Rayer Bazar. Mostly carpenters, potters and daily labourers lived there. The carpenter said that about 10 a.m. a large group of miscreants surrounded the area, looted it and set it on fire. Those who came out of burning houses were killed.

3 or 4 days later a group of about 13 or 14 women and children came to the camp. They had been injured and discharged from the hospital. The witness saw the injuries and says that even children and babies had many

injuries. One of the babies had an injury on its neck. They were treated by doctors who had sought refuge in the camp. These women and children were, from Chittaranjan Mills, Narayangunj and Tongi. The Tongi group said that their houses had been looted and burnt and there was no trace of the men. They had been taken to the hospital.

The witness refers to the attack on the Physical Training College hostel near Tejgaon. The hostel was surrounded. The Superintendent said that there were no minority person. Later on a servant boy was able to get out and with the aid of the police the Hindu students were removed. He says that in his area a girl was abducted by some Muslims but the Hindu boys rescued her. The complaint to the police proved useless.

He says there is discrimination in universities and hardly any jobs were available to Hindus.

Hari Saran Chaudhari, **DTN 3**, 125 Nawabpur Road, says that on January 13, 1964, some parts of Dacca, Nawabpur, Mirpur, Rayer Bazar, Dakinmossundi, Uttermossundi, Banagram trouble had already started. On the next day the trouble started in Narayangunj, Chashara, Fatulla, Jatrabary etc. Almost all houses in his area were burnt and properties were looted. Lots of persons were killed. He went and took shelter in Jagannath College. His neighbour Dr. Satish Chandra Deb, 126 Nawabpur Road, was injured. He also says that from that house a girl of 17 was abducted on January 14, 1964.

Arun Chandra Bhawmick, **DTN 4**, 5/3 Lyall Street, also mentions the various parts of Dacca which were affected on January 13, 1964. He says almost all the houses were set on fire. No precautions were taken by the Government and on the next day the trouble spread in other areas. He says "We were ready for death. My house was burnt."

He ran away leaving all his properties. He saw fire brigades rushing about every few minutes. Next day he went to a relief camp. His brother was injured and he gives the name of a young student of a college who was abducted from her residence at Nawabpur Road.

Sakhisona Mandal, DTN 6, Nawabpur, says that many houses were burnt in her area. She ran with two of her sons for shelter in the Jagannath College. On their way the eldest son aged 12 was stabbed on the head. Her husband, who was away from the house, she learnt, was killed in the market place.

Saraswati Roy, DTN 5, 206 Nawabpur Road, says on January 16, her house was attacked and set on fire. They took shelter in a Muslim house. The men who had taken shelter in the house were killed and the women were threatened with death if ornaments were not handed over. Luckily some one came into the house and got the women released and took them to a relief camp. Among those who were killed was her 20 years old son.

Amulya Mohan Bhaduray. DTN 2, 103 Nawabpur Road, says on January 16, 1964, he closed his shop and went home. At about 11 p.m. he heard a lot of hullabalu and came out of the house and saw that shops in the locality had been set on fire. He also saw many persons looting these shops. He says that police were standing by doing nothing. He pathetically adds, "I was stunned to see the fate of my whole life's achievements."

Malti Dasi Ghosh, DSP 3, of Nawabpur, says that her house was attacked in the morning of January 14, 1964 and seven persons residing in that house were killed. These were her husband, sister-in-law, aunt and two other women not members of the family and two others whose names she does not know. The leader of the gang was Bachhu Mia she recognised.

Chandra Bali Barik, DSP 14, 206 Nawabpur, Bir Ballav Pal's Thakuzwadi (Temple), says that the temple was bombed and set on fire. The caretaker informed the police but no help came. Kalidas Pal and 7 members of his family were killed by the mob. His younger brother lost one arm and one leg. She and her younger brother went and hid themselves in another house from where they were rescued.

Kalipada Dey, DTN 7 North Mussundi, says that his shop was looted and his father, who was in the shop, was killed. He ran home and took his wife and children and took shelter in the Indian Visa Office. After 7 days when he was escorted back by the police, he says that he found that everything in the house was looted. He says his eldest son , ho had been to the house of a relative in Nowabpur, has not been traced.

Mayarani Basak. DSP 4, North Masund says :

"When the area was attacked the police were there but were inactive. Houses were being looted and set on fire. Hindus were being killed. Next day the military came but took no action. This encouraged the goondas, who continued to beat and stab Hindus. When I was running

for safety I saw a Hindu girl being kidnapped. I also saw that a Hindu was dragged out of a taxi and stabbed. The woman and two children in the taxi were driven away by the Muslim taxi driver. Many Hindu corpses were lying on the streets and filled the drains. I took refuge in the State Bank office and I could only go home after a month."

Jogesh Chandra Das, DTN-8, was employed as a carpenter in the Dacca Muslim College. He says on January 14, 1964, he went to his house which was near the college, to take his meal. When he was taking his meal, persons known to him, after breaking his door, entered his house, caught hold of his mother and tied her up. He was thrown out of his house. They looted whatever valuables there were in his house, after beating up his mother. He says he saw 5 dead bodies in the street. He says that they molested his wife and she was saved from further assault by the appearance of a professor of the college, who had come to call him. He says he filed a complaint against the attackers but nothing came out of it. He mentions the names of 6 of the attackers. Among them was Hafaz-uddin Sardar, a pleader. Three others were also from Lakshmi Bazar area. Their names are Nur Islam, Nur-uddin Tajuddin. The remaining two were Golphan and Kalu, from Daryagunj.

Kumuda Das, DSP-2, says that on the morning of January 14, 1964, she saw many Hindus running here and there. She also saw smoke and fire at some distance. They ran and took shelter in a glass factory. At 5 p. m. she went out to enquire about her brother who, she learnt, had been stabbed and removed to Mirpur hospital where he died. As she was returning with her nephew she was stabbed on the road. She saw number of dead bodies on the road. She says the military came that night and started removing dead bodies. She says as it was impossible to stay in the glass factory because of the terrible smell, they were taken to the camp. She saw a girl, who was brought to the camp, both of whose breasts had been chopped off. She saw many in the camp who had severe injuries and some of them had lost their hands or legs or eyes.

Bimal Chakrawarti, DSP-1, a goldsmith who had a shop at 19 Bonogram, says that at about 4 p. m. Muslim groups began to loot Hindu houses and shops. He and his uncle were in his shop. As they were trying to leave the shop with the valuables, they were attacked and his uncle was killed on the spot. He managed to run away to seek safety. On the way he saw 6 or 7 Hindus, killed

by the Muslims, lying dead. He also saw later about 40 to 50 dead bodies lying on the road when he was being escorted to a safe place by the police. He mentions the names of 5 other persons, who were killed. The name of the person who killed his uncle was Abu of Islampur. He also mentions the names of other assailants.

He gives the names of two girls who were abducted from the locality and not yet been traced.

Moniram Nandi DSP-6, Bonogram, says that when the attack came his house was looted and set on fire. He along with his wife and children went for shelter but his aged parents were unable to leave and were murdered. He says out of about 1,000 Hindus of his locality only 150 were left alive. As he was running he was hit with a rod and he fell down. His wife and children were given shelter by a Muslim.

Bhupal Sarkar, DSP-15, Bonogram, says that this was a riot for which the Government was responsible and the riot was created to drive Hindus out of East Pakistan. On January 13, 1964, the Mill area and the adjacent areas were attacked and a large number of people were killed. Also large scale looting and arson went on. This continued for days together. Military took charge of Dacca on the 5th day and it took the army about 14 days to reach the worst affected areas.

"I saw goondas being carried in buses. Buses seemed to have been arranged to take the attackers, who were armed with deadly weapons, to carry them to Hindu localities. Government was indifferent even about giving relief to the Hindus who had lost everything. Relief fund was raised by the Hindus of Saksari Bazar, who gave relief to thousands who have taken refuge in the various camps. The Governor pretended not to know anything and was in fact in Karachi. Large number of women were abducted and compelled to marry Muslims. I saw a young woman being snatched away from her husband. Dead bodies were scattered on the streets, drains, here and there. Hindu corpses polluted the river Lakha."

Niyaty Das, DSP-9, 6 Walter Road, says that they resided near the police station and saw a large number of dead bodies being brought in the compound of the police station. The situation became worse and worse. The town almost looked like an empty city.

Harendra Nath Mistry, DSP-10, Dhakeshwari Market says that during the disturbances he stayed with

his brother, who was an Inspector in Poli Technic Institute. This was attacked and they took shelter among the students.

He says Hindu properties were burnt and killing on a massive scale took place.

Hari Dasi Dutta, DSP 11, Narinda, says that she went with her husband to his office at Tictuly on January 13, 1964. On the next day her house was attacked and completely looted. Her elder son was in the house. He later on reached a camp. She says that she saw the police and military taking away dead bodies from the road in trucks.

Rajendra Nath Biswas, DSP 13, who had a pharmacy in Dacca says that on January 14, 1964, when the trouble began and looting and burning was going on, large amounts of money were collected from Hindus for escorting them to safety. He himself paid about Rs. 2000/- in cash and jewellery. His house was razed to the ground. He took refuge in Shankaran Patty, where thousands of Hindus were also sheltered. He names Sahi-juddin Khan of Sadar Road, Dacca, as one of the persons who extracted the money.

Hiralal Chatterji, DSP 16, Sutrapur (an area in Dacca town), says that one night his house was raided and his four daughters were stabbed and his wife beaten. He jumped from the house and took shelter in a house nearby. The military came after a few hours to the locality and he was taken to the rescue camp. Next day he came to the house and found 15 persons lying dead and injured in that house. His wife and daughters were removed to the Dacca Medical College. Among the assailants were Lalu Kayshar Salauddin and Pachhu of Bonoram Road.

Sital Chandra Das, D&B 5, Chaudhari Bazar says that when the area was attacked, he along with his family was running to find safety. He was attacked and received a knife injury. He saw 4 Hindus being stabbed. He said more than 200 Hindus of his area had been killed. When he got back his house had been completely burnt.

Narad Chandra Das, D&B 4, resided at Kansari-gali and had a pan bidi (Betel leaves and Cigarettes) shop at Mina Bazar. He says that a large mob of Muslims started looting and burning the shops and houses of the locality. His shop was also looted. He ran back to his home. On his way he saw many cases of arson and loot. He

with his family went away to seek safety. He came back after 3 or 4 days and he saw his house and other houses in the locality looted. He saw a few dead bodies on the road.

Other areas that were attacked were Gopi Mohan Basak Lane, DSP-12, 16 Pyari Das Road DSP-5, Kolutola and Naba-ganj. In Nabaganj the Chairman of the Union Council gave shelter to Hindus in his own house, DLB-2, 3 and in Kolutola Mr. Rajab Ali Mollai, pleader Chairman of U.C. helped the unfortunate Hindus DSP-7. Even in these places looting, arson and murder did take place.

Tejgaon P.S. Tejgaon is quite close to Dacca. The principle airport is also at Tejgaon.

Witness AB, DT-1331, says that she was working as a telephone operator Trunk Exchange, Dacca, and living in Tejgaon. She says on January 14, 1964 attacks on Hindus began in the evening at Kawran Bazar in Tejgaon. Two Hindus were stabbed to death at about 4 p.m. At about 6 p.m. the house in which she lived was set on fire. The inmates would have been killed but for the intervention of the police. There was a police camp nearby and at night time with the help of the police, she with her sister, ran hurriedly to the house of Krishna Paul, where large number of Hindus had collected. Her brother-in-law hid himself in the house.

Next morning the neighbouring house of Surya Paul where 50 women had taken shelter, was attacked. There were only two men inside who tried to keep the door from being forced But it was forced open. Some armed police came and started firing at random and ruffians went away, but as a result of that firing a number of persons died inside that house. Then the ruffians proceeded towards 'South Paul Para' setting fire to the Hindu houses. Then the witness, along with others, left that house, started going towards North Paul Para and took refuge inside the large open area bounded by walls. In this compound about 600 Hindus had taken shelter. Witness says that she saw that the Chittagong-Dacca-Narayangunj train was stopped at Kawran Bazar and a large number of Hindu passengers were taken out of the train and butchered. After this incident the police told them that they were not going to be able to help the unfortunate Hindus, and were not going to risk their lives. The police then left some time after this. One of the Hindus went to a nearby saw-mill to telephone the Tejgaon Police Station. The police

sent some assistance and at mid-night the police took them out to take them to a safer place. When they got out, she says, she saw dead bodies lying on the road. Inspite of the police escort the miscreants attacked the Hindus from behind. But the Police fired and the attackers retreated. Ultimately about 800 Hindus were approaching the Tejgaon police station but once more they were attacked near Tistari Bazar.

They remained at the Police Station for 5 days and then were shifted to Jagannath Hall camp in Dacca and there they stayed for 7 days.

While in the camp, she used to go out passing herself off as a Muslim and visited several camps in the city as well as the Medical College Hospital. She says that she used to shudder at the dreadful horrors which she saw.

Rayer Bazar. Rayer Bazar is a locality on the outskirts of Dacca city. This area was one of the worst affected areas. It must be noted that the attacks went on unabated for several days as in other places.

Lal Behari Paul, DT-128, says that his area was attacked at about 3 p.m. All the houses were looted and about 250 houses were burnt. At the time of the attack the assailants entered his house by breaking open the doors. His father was hit with a rod. His right arm was fractured and he received other injuries too. His elder brother was stabbed to death. His sister's husband was stabbed to death in the street. He says that more than 150 Hindus, men, women and children were killed while they were running to find safety. He, along with his mother and sister, took shelter in the house of Kalipada Paul, which was set on fire afterwards. He mentions the names of a mother and daughter who tried to seek shelter in the house of Chairman Unus but they were driven away. They were caught hold of by the ruffians and raped on the street. The husband and father tried to intervene but he was stabbed. These women were kept in the house of some Muslims from where they were later on rescued.

In this area there are numerous cases of rape but we do not propose to deal in detail with these cases. It is, however, necessary to mention that the several women of a Paul family were the unfortunate victims. This had been mentioned by numerous witnesses. Some of them are the relatives of the unfortunate girls. There are several other cases where as witness DT 30 says, where her pregnant daughter-in-law was raped at the point of a dagger. And when she was recovered she had to be

taken to the hospital. Some other cases are mentioned by DT-107, DT-47, DT-225, DT-121 and DT-136.

Ram Jaipal, DT-36, He describes the attack and says that the houses were sprayed with petrol and burnt. He saw one man being killed near the house. Six members of his family viz. Father, 3 brothers, mother and one sister are untraced. He also saw trucks full of dead bodies being carried away. He took refuge in the Maha Prabhu Akhara (shrine), where he saw about 50 persons who had been injured. The witness mentions the names of assailants from the area among whom was Unus Mia the Chairman of the U.C.

Haran Chandra Paul, DT-136, says that a large mob shouting 'Allah ho Akabar' attacked the area. They started running. They went to several Muslim houses but they were not allowed to go in. Finally they were allowed to remain on the terrace in a Muslim house. He says he saw the Muslims running all over the area in search of Hindus, shouting all the time. The people in the house where he and his children had been given shelter, also started shouting the same slogans (probably to save the family whom they had given shelter). They left the house next day and took shelter in a deserted Hindu house. They again left that house and took shelter in the forest and finally reached the Akhara of Maha Prabhu, where lot of Hindus had also taken shelter. He says that at first some Bengali Muslims tried to help the Hindus but seeing the temper of the assailants they got frightened. He mentions the name of Jinnat Ali Gha who was killed while trying to protect some Hindus. He also says that while trying to resist, large number of Hindus were killed. He gives the names of 12 persons mostly his neighbours who were killed while resisting.

Some other witnesses DT-157, and DT-278, DT-319, and DT-228, also mention the selfless bravery of Jinnat Ali. He was the brother of Hassan Master who also helped the Hindus so also Manu Mia of that locality.

Bidesh Chandra Paul DT-129, an old and blind man, says that he was in his house with his son and other members of his family, when he heard that Musilms were attacking Hindu houses and looting and burning them. Excepting his eldest son, the rest of the family left the house. Soon thereafter the assailants rushed into his house. He heard his son's entreaties but his son was killed. Thereafter he himself was hit on the head with a rod and fell down unconscious.

Rama Lakshmi, Paul DT-221. She is the daughter-in-law of the previous witness. She says that after staying for 5 days in the Ashram her mother-in-law with police escort went to search for her husband and her father-in-law. The husband was lying dead and the father-in-law was seriously wounded. He was taken to the hospital and returned after one month to the Ashram.

Nil Kamal Paul, DT-41, says that he was in Dacca but when he heard that Muslims were attacking his area he ran home. When he reached there he saw that his house was burning. He came to know that his wife and children had gone away to the place of a relation and he started for that place. At that time one Salamat Khan was walking along with him. When a Muslim came to attack, Salamat told him that the witness was a Muslim. Soon thereafter the assailant discovered that he was a Hindu and started chasing him. But he ran away. He saw that Salamat had been caught but he does not know what happened to him. He also mentions with gratitude the name of Hassan Master.

Hari Gopal Paul, DT-139, says that about 2 p.m. the trouble started when the Muslims looted and set on fire the properties of Hindus. He, with his family, was given shelter in a neighbouring Muslim house. The assailants came there, but his host said that there was no Hindu in the house. Thereafter his host asked them to leave and they took shelter in a brick field. The Muslims were carrying torches and compelled him to give whatever he had with him but he was not spared and he was stabbed in four places. Later on when he regained consciousness, he went back to his half-burnt house and hid there. He was taken to the Maha Prabhu Akhara and from there to a hospital where he was treated for some time. His brother-in-law was killed and three of his relations were severely injured (Injuries shown to the questioner).

Similar is the story of Ashoke Kumar Paul DT-121. He says that when the houses were set on fire people started running for shelter. They ran and took shelter in Maha Prabhu Akhara and from there they were taken to Jagannath College by the Military. He says that more than 100 persons including men, women and children were killed.

Thakur Dasi Raj, DT-30, says that the attack lasted for 3 days during which looting and burning of Hindu houses took place. About 70 to 80 persons were killed in her area. She says that she knows a number of cases of chopping of heads, breasts and other limbs. She says that 13 members of the family of Sahib Basi, her relation, were murdered. She says Kali Mandir and other temples were destroyed.

Shanta Dasi, DT-138, says that she was given shelter in a Muslim house and on the next day the Muslim took her to an improvised camp at Nityanand Ashram. On the way she saw many dead bodies, many of the women had their breasts chopped off.

Sushil Kumar Paul, DT-228, refers to the bravery of Jinnat and says that entire Rayer Bazar looked like a bonfire. He says that more than 200 persons were killed. He also says that he saw one Hindu woman whose breasts had been chopped off (gives the name of the woman). He also says that 9 members of the family of Bhunjan Paul were killed (DT-132 also refers to this). One of the women, who was in that family and who was pregnant jumped into a pond and drowned herself. He says that a camp which was set up to give shelter to Hindus was burnt while the police were looking on. This witness also alleges that two fire engines which had come to the area instead of putting out the fire, supplied petrol to the assailants.

There are many other statements from this area which give similar accounts and we shall give the numbers of witnesses. DT-30, DT-36, DT-6, DT-41, DT-47, DT-67, DT-68, DT-108, DT-110, DT-113, DT-115, DT-116, DT-123, DT-122, DT-132, DT-137, DT-133, DT-136, DT-153, DT-157, DT-163, DT-209, DT-224, DT-223, DT-222, DT-228, DT-232, DT-225, DT-245, DT-246, DT-274, DT-278, DT-301, DT-302, DT-304, DT-319.

Kalsi. Hara Kumar Mandal DT-156, says that when the area was attacked Anaf Sahib gave shelter to some Hindus in his factory. The mob broke open the doors but there was resistance. However, some Hindus were stabbed.

Haripada Baroi, DT-238, a boy of 12, says that when his area was attacked they ran for shelter in a nearby brick field. He says that the assailants, after setting fire to the area, came to the brick field. His father was assaulted and he saw another Hindu being killed. He and his mother started running. They were chased by Muslims. While they were running, he says, he saw many Hindus being killed. Ultimately they ran to the jungle. Next day they went to the police outpost at Birulia but they were not given shelter. They again went back to

the jungle but they were again attacked there. His mother saved him and the other members of his family by purchasing safety by giving her gold chain to the assailants.

Similar are the stories of other witnesses from this area. We shall give their Nos. DT-147, DT-165, DT-210, DT-236, DT-241, DT-261, DT-179, DT-180. Each of these witnesses mentions the names of persons who were killed in the attack. Similarly many of the witnesses have given the names of some of the assailants from their area.

Paradogar. Madhusudan Sarkar, DT-214, says that about noon of January 15, 1964, a large number of Muslims attacked this area. People started running as the mob was butchering Hindus. He, along with his family, ran along the banks of the river when they were caught hold of and 8 members of his family were killed. An elderly woman who was running with them was badly beaten and her belongings were taken away. A young woman was taken away screaming. Witness managed to take shelter in the house of Jabbar Mia of Barait, Chairman U.C. from where he saw the carnage of Hindus and the dead bodies being thrown into the Balu river. He also saw women being raped in the open.

Those killed in his family range from the ages of 50 to the age of 4, and they included his uncle, sister, 3 nieces and a nephew-in-law. The two children who were killed were a niece and a son of the niece. One of his relation was stabbed in the abdomen and he was in the Dacca Medical College hospital for 3 weeks.

He gives the names of 7 assailants all from his area whom he recognised. Khalil Rehman and Abdul Khan were the members of the U.C. of Matwail, and Mazu, a peon of the district Magistrate of Dacca.

Tarachand Das, DT-43, says that he saw that about 100 Hindus were killed and 50 or 60 houses were looted and set on fire. He saw large number of dead bodies.

Sri Nath Mandal, DT-62, describes the attack in which his sister was killed.

Manoranjan Mandal, DT-63, says that his brother was killed.

Nitai Mandal, DT-73, mentions that his neigbhours were killed.

DT-206—Uncle killed.
DT-226—Husband killed.

DT-230—Son aged 3 and nephew aged 10 killed.
DT-283—Son aged 9 killed.
DT-282—Cousin, nephew and 2 daughters of the nephew aged 5 and 3 killed.

DT-148—Mother killed.
DT-215—Five neighbours killed.
DT-65—Sister-in-law and nephew killed.

Some of the witnesses have also mentioned the cases of abduction and rape.

Shyampur. Sashi Mohan Das, DT-114, says that his area was attacked by the mill workers of Adamji Mills. He also says that he saw the raiders using large number of buses of Momin and Co. He says that his father-in-law and quite a number of others were killed.

Surendra Chandra Das, DT 57, mentions that on January 15, 1964, the workers of Dacca Match Factory attacked his area, looted and burnt and a number of people were killed. His brother and two uncles were killed. He says that the person who murdered his brother was Jalal Mia of Shyampur.

Rai Dasi Das, DT 81, says that on the first day of the assaults the Hindus took refuge in a large building. The assilants attempted to set fire to the building but did not succeed. The next day she, along with her nephew, was trying to catch hold of a boat to go to a safer place. Her nephew was killed in her presence by match factory workers.

Sachindra Sarkar, DT 303, also says that he along with large number of Hindus took shelter in a Hindu's house (referred to by previous witness) and that the house was attacked. Thereafter they took shelter in the house of a Muslim brick merchant which was also attacked. He saw large number of dead bodies of children in a tank in Baburhat. He says that a large number of Hindus who had taken shelter in a school at Baburhat, were all killed. He saw a young woman stabbed to death and her baby aged 10 months was tied up to her body. The baby was later on rescued.

Bachila. Naini Raj Bansi, DT-13, says that about mid night on January 14, 1964, this area was attacked. The witness says that she along with her two children escaped by jumping into the river, but her husband was unable to leave the place and next day she found him lying dead on the floor of the house which was burnt. Then they were given refuge in a Muslim house in another village

and remained there fore a week. She says that a young girl of 15 was taken away from her own house but was rescued the next day.

Similar is the account of witness DT 310.

Ramdas Rajbansi refers to an attack on Thursday the 16th January in the afternoon, when the area was attacked. He says that he began to run for safety but his pregnant wife was caught hold of and was killed in the house. He also says that before she was killed she had been raped and about Rs. 500/- which she had were taken away. His elder son was also caught hold of and given a knife injury on the neck.

There are similar accounts by other witnesses from this area. DT 5, DT 31, DT 309, DT 308, DT 306, DT 305. Many of these mention the case of one girl aged 15, who was abducted from the house. She was rescued later on.

Krishna Mohan Baroi, DT-298, says that on January 14, 1964, there was an attack by a violent mob. He was in the market but when he heard about the approaching attack he ran home and took his wife and children to a Muslim acquaintance. There were other Hindu families also but they could not be accommodated there and were all refused shelter. Then they went to a house of a Muslim, was on a very friendly terms, who rather reluctantly gave shelter. His father had taken shelter with another Muslim. It appears that the son of their host had taken part in the looting and brought some loot to this house, part of which had come from the house of witness He later went to see his father but the son of his host came and informed him that there was another attack. He ran back to where his wife and children were. He was told that his family had been hidden under a large haystack. His host's son was very apprehensive and soon thereafter the attack came. The attackers probed the haystack with spears but they could not find them. A woman friend of that family came to the house and enquired if anybody had been hidden there. The son of the host mentioned the name of the witness and on that the witness came out and asked for a weapon with which he could kill his own family. When he came out of the haystacks he found his mother lying dead. He was told that none of his people were alive. He then ran from there and went to a refugee camp. He later on traced his young daughter aged 5, in the house of a Muslim who had found her crying in a field. From what the daughter

said he was able to place together that his wife and two children, a son aged 3 and daughter aged 8 and his father and mother were all killed.

The little girl was also questioned in the absence of her father and with the help of her aunt the story of what happened to her mother and brother and sister was pieced together and it was substantially the same as what the father had said.

Rabi Das Baroi, DT-161, says that he was a worker in Dhakeshwari Mills No. 2 and remained there during the attack. He came to know later that his family took shelter in the house of Ajiruddin Sardar. He says gratefully that large number of Hindus owe their lives to him and to his wife, who, when the attack came on that side, herself opened fire on the mob. In spite of this, he says, that a number of houses were looted and burnt and a number of Hindus were killed.

Motilal Mandal, DT.159. also mentions the kindness of Afiruddin Sardar and his wife, through which many Hindus were saved. However, he states that in spite of this there was "unprecedented havoc." He says that about 10 a.m. the village was attacked and the mob started looting Hindu property and setting fire to Hindu houses. He and his family began to run but could not get shelter in any Muslim house and hid themselves in a haystack. After dark they were given shelter in a Muslim house but at the dead of night whatever they had was taken away and they were driven out. He says that many of his relatives were killed. Women were raped in the streets. Children were killed by dashing their heads against the wall and were thrown into the water. He saw many dead bodies heaped into a ditch which was later on dug by the military. He and his family were given refuge in the house of Afiruddin Sardar and were thus saved. He has given the names of 10 of his relations who were killed. These are three uncles 3 cousins, sister-in-law, her son aged 6 and daughter aged 8 and his aunt.

He also mentions that about 300 men and women had been given shelter in the mosque by Lal Mia, the Chairman of the U. Council When the mob attacked, they raped many women inside the mosque and killed them. He says that males were first made to read the "Kalma" (conversion ceremony) and killed afterwards He ends by saying "I shall gratefully remember Afiruddin Sardar and his wife of Mondla and Jabbar Mia of Berail who also protected many Hindu lives by opening fire."

Jogmaya Roy, DT-77, gives a similar account of the attack and says that she, with her husband, went to another village Rajbara about five miles away. She says that 11 members of her family, whose names she has given, were lying dead when they went back to the village searching for their 11 years old son. These 11 members range from the ages of 67 to the age of 3. These were her father, 3 b-others of the husband and one sister-in-law, mother-in-law, two nephews, one niece and father-in law of the sister.

Similar. is the statement of DT-111.

Dogar This village appears also to be not very far from the Adamji and other Mills. This was attacked on January 14, 1964. We shall give a few statements.

Lal Mohan Das, DT-87, says that on January 14, 1964, mill workers from Adamji, Canib and other Jute mills looted the village and burnt the houses including the Kali temple. He says about 35 persons were killed, among whom were women also. Many women were molested. He found large number of dead bodies in the nearby field. Among those killed were his wife, 2 daughters, one maternal uncle and two others.

Similar is the account of Sadhu Mohan Mandal DT-211. He has given names of some of the persons who were killed. One of them was his father-in-law and 4, others, including a child of 6, were his neighbours.

Nabdwip Chandra Biswas, DT 292, gives a similar account and gives the names of 3 persons, two of them his relations and the third a boy of 15.

Maroni Sarkar, DT 242 states that when they heard of the terrible massacre in the mills, they went away for safety. The neighbouring Muslims refused to give shelter but one Muslim sheltered them in the evening. But later on he also asked them to leave.

Jogindra Mandal, DT 82, refers to the attack on the village and says that the attackers were shouting "we shall take revenge for Calcutta. We shall leave no Hindus" among other slogans,

He along with a boy of 10, took shelter on the top of a haystack and remained there for 3 days. He saw number of mutilated bodies. He says that Abdul Ali, Chairman of the Moutal Union, in whose house a number of Hindus had taken shelter, drove them out and they were all massacred.

DT84—Mother, uncle, brother and cousin were killed.

DT 76—Cousin was killed.

DT 69—gives the names of 9 of his relations who were killed. The range in age is from 60 to 2. These were his son aged 8, uncle and aunt, his cousin, his nephew (sister's son) and his wife. The father and mother and the brother of this nephew and 4 of his relations received serious injuries.

DT 144—gives the names of 11 persons who were killed, ranging in age from 70 to 3. They were grandfather, uncle and aunt, cousin, uncle-in-law and the rest including a boy of 3, his neighbours. His aunt and his sister-in-law were injured.

Other witnesses viz. DT 227, DT 85, DT 18, whose whole family consisting of 7 persons was wiped out.

DT 208, DT 145, DT 262 have given the names of various relatives or neighbours who were killed

Kayet Para. This is also close to the mill area near Dacca.

Suresh Chandra Das, DT 21, says that the Mill workers attacked his village and loot and arson took place. About 200 Hindus were killed. They fled to Rupgunj Police Station because Tejgaon area was not at all safe. They remained at Rupgunj P S. for about 2 days but on the 3rd day they were driven out and were beaten with the butts of rifles. The fleeing Hindus were assaulted and robbed and some of them were killed. From there they ran and were given shelter in village Noora for one night and from there they went to village Gonnagar where they were sheltered by a Muslim, Taju Matabbar, for a week, Thereafter they went back to the village. Quite a lot of looted property was in the house of Chairman and out of this the Chairman gave little doles.

Kalipada Nandi, DT-317. According to this witness there were about 850 Hindus in about 200 families. All the houses were gutted and large number of Hindus, were massacred including women and children. At the time of this occurrence he was working in Bhawani Textile Mills and when the mills closed early he took refuge in a Muslim house in Dacca When he reached his village after a week, he found nobody there. Ultimately he was able to trace his family in Nagari camp which had been set up in a church where large number of Hindus had been sheltered. He says he took 6 orphans with him to the Deputy High Commissioner of India in Dacca who managed to restore them to their relatives.

He heard the story of what had happened in the village from his wife. He mentions the names of 4 women among those who were abducted. Two of them

remained untraced. One of the women was raped 7 times, and later on she filed a complaint although she was threatened with dire consequences if she filed any complaint, by the Chairman of Union Council Lal Mia.

His mother was killed in this attack.

Bagala Sarkar, DT-290, says that the village was attacked on January 14, 1964 and the attackers worked havoc in the village. She ran for safety but her very old mother could not run as fast and she saw the old woman being hit on the head by an iron rod and falling down dead. She also says that she took shelter at the police station in Rup Gunj but the large number of Hindus who had taken shelter there were driven out and a very large number of these were massacred in front of the police station.

Similar is the story of DT-289, DT-21 and DT-316 from Kaytpara.

Three witnesses, viz. DT-258, DT-261 and DT-316 refer to the case of rape on a young woman. All of them mention the names of the miscreants.

Jagdish Chandra Das, DT-261, gives the details of 132 Hindus who were killed. These details show that whole families were wiped out. This was during an attack by workers of Latif, and Bhawani Jute Mills on January 14, 1964.

Other witnesses who describe the attack on the village are DT-289, DT-293, DT-220 and DT-290.

Witness DT-220 says that 7 members of her family were killed and 2 were injured.

Nandipara. Rajmohan Mandal, DT-2, says : "Muslims from the neighbouring villages threatened us by saying that Hindus will be killed and their women will be abducted. Hindus have no right to stay in Pakistan etc. Fearing the attack, I took shelter in a nearby village. The attack came with the usual looting and burning of Hindu houses. I saw a very large number of Hindu corpses floating in the river. This attack was also initiated by the mill workers."

Ramesh Malik, DT-8, was in the village and when the raiders were coming he ran for shelter. When he came back to his village he found that all the Hindu houses had been burnt.

Hara Mohan Mandal, DT-104, describes the attack and says that for some time the Hindus tried to resist but ultimately they fled.

Meghu Mandal. DT-19, says that not a single Hindu house was spared.

Similar is the story of DT-200, DT-205, DT-204, DT-203 and many others.

Although all the Hindu houses were looted and burnt there does not seem to have been much loss of lives as most of the villagers had fled in time. Many of them, however, say that they saw large number of corpses and limbs floating in the river. So far as this village is concerned many of the villagers seem to have been given shelter by Muslims in the nearby villages. Several of them were given shelter in the house of Sultan Bhutayam of Tengeran village for about a week.

There were, however, a number of Hindus who were killed and some cases of abduction and rape.

Dakshin Gaon. Nader Chand, DT-288, says that his village was attacked and the mob looted the houses and tried to kill the Hindus. When he was fleeing away he was struck by a spear. It wounded his mouth and neck. He went to a Muslim house for shelter and they sent him for medical treatment.

He says when he returned to his house he saw the dead body of his sister-in-law lying on the ground. His brother was also hit on his head by the mob and he had to take medical treatment for 15 days. Scar was seen by questioner.

Nilambhan Das, DT-17, says that the Muslim mob from Adamji Mills attacked and raided all the Hindu houses of his village. The houses were set on fire after looting. One Hindu was killed. He says that he took shelter in a Muslim village at Manda for 3 days. Military arrived on January 17, 1964 and restored order.

Similar are the statements given by witnesses DT-14, DT-33, DT-55, DT-56, DT-188, DT-189, DT-194, DT 251 and DT-281.

Idarkandi. Similar attacks have been mentioned by witnesses from Idarkandi who have given names of some persons killed and of women molested and raped.

Dharmikpara. Dukhada Dasi, DT-26, says that when the neighbouring villages were attacked the Hindus in this village prepared themselves for resistance and when the attack came they held the attackers at bay for some time. She says a police officer and some constables tried to restrain the assailants but failed to do so. Thereafter, the assailants who were joined by local hooligans started looting and burning houses. She

escaped and took shelter in Dacca, 4 miles away. She mentions the names of 8 persons who were killed and 5 who were injured.

Manoranjan Chandra Biswas, DT-80, describes the attack and says that large number of houses were looted and burnt. His old father and 3 brothers were killed. He mentions the names of some of the local assailants.

DT-83, says that 3 members of his family were killed and 3 injured with stab wounds.

Witnesses DT-264 and DT-268 say that their husbands were killed.

Similar stories are given by persons from Turan.

Tan Mendipur. Pagaldasi Mandal, DT-198, Tanmendipur says that on January 14, 1964 at about 8 a.m. large number of Mill employees (mostly Non-Bengalee and Noakhali) along with the local Muslims entered their village and began to loot and set fire to their houses. They began to run madly with their children. Many Hindu men, women and children were caught and killed by Muslims when they were fleeing. They crossed the river with the help of their boat. But they were not spared there. They were followed there. They ran madly upto village Nagri and got shelter in a Christian mission. About 1,000 Hindus got shelter there. Father of the church protected them with the help of 5 guns. They stayed there for 20 days and then returned to their village. Her niece aged 6 was injured.

DT-199, Daughter was killed.

DT-213, mentions the names of 3 persons who were killed.

DT-218 mentions the names of 5 persons including his father-in-law and brother-in-law who were killed and 3 persons including his daughter aged 6 whose ear was torn off when her earing was snatched away.

Naya Tek. Ramdhan Rajbansi, DT-3, says that during the attack his grandmother, uncle and aunt were killed.

Harisundri Rajbanshi, DT-92, says that on January 15, 1924 Muslims came to their village at about 3 p.m. and began to set fire to their houses. They fled away. Muslims followed them with daggers. Her son aged 12 was killed as he could not run fast. They were running towards river and noticed many houses on fire. Hindu men, women and children were running helter-skelter.

Many were killed mercilessly. They went to the river and boarded a boat and went two miles off from their village. Their Kali Temple was burnt to ashes. They saw dead bodies floating in the river. She saw jackals relishing the dead bodies. They could not drink river water as it was polluted with bad smell of rotten corpses.

DT-93, says that his grand-mother was killed.

Daina. Haridasi Das, DT-314, says that when they heard terrible cries from the nearby village, women and children took shelter but the men including her husband who remained behind, were killed.

DT-217, mentions the names of his three neighbours who were killed.

Similar are the statements DT-174 and DT-195,

Nayapara. Srimatibala Mandal, DT-271, a young woman of 28, says that on January 14, 1964 the nearby village was looted and burnt and her village was attacked. She ran away and was fleeing towards Dacca. She was sought to be molested by a gang of Muslims and on her resistance her right arm was cut off and she fell down unconscious. Next day she was taken to Dacca. She says that her husband and two uncles were killed.

Arm shown to questioner.

Debendra Chandra Sarkar, DT-91, describes the attack and says that his sister-in-law and her son were killed. Another sister-in-law was injured and two children of that family aged 3 and 8 were also injured.

Similar are the statements of DT-112, DT-120 and DT-124.

Dogail. Brindaban Mandal, DT-44, says that he heard about the havoc caused by the workers of the Mills in the surrounding villages of Simalpara, Kadamtala, Pathurapara and Sidergunj etc. At 10 in the morning on January 14, a gang of armed Muslims was seen approaching this village from the road. The local Muslims had been assuring the Hindus of safety but when they saw this they became frightened and many Hindus were killed while trying to run away. He has given the names of 6 out of the many who were killed. Then they managed to go and get shelter at Matuari High School.

DT-74, gives a similar account and says that he took shelter in a glass factory. He says that he returned after

17 days and found that all houses of Hindus including his own were burnt. He says that he came to know that a number of people had been killed. He has given some names of persons killed, among whom are an uncle, a cousin and 2 aunts.

Similar is the account of DT-273.

Haripada Das, DT-143, says that the village was attacked at 8 a.m. by a very large number of mill workers. Every one ran for shelter and about 30 persons to his knowledge were killed. Among them was his 6 months old baby and 8 of his neighbours including 3 children of the ages of 5, 3 and 2. He also mentions the names of 3 young girls who were abducted and not traced.

Similar is the account given by witnesses DT-103, DT-229, DT-275 and DT-279.

Digan. Himai Chandra Mandal, DT-153, says that the village was attacked by a large mob of muslims armed with guns, spears, daggers and rods etc on January 15, 1964.

This was largely a Hindu village and they decided to give resistance. The Chairman had some guns but he declined to give them to the people who were resisting. One Muslim supplied them with 70 bullets, on the payment of Rs. 3,000/-. Large number of Hindus from the neighbouring villages had also assembled in this village. But the resistance was futile and number of Hindus were killed. Among them were his elder brother and his nephew. His sister-in-law was badly injured. He says that after some time the mob retreated but returned the next morning in larger numbers. Both sides opened fire and it was almost a pitched battle, They again begged of the Chairman to help them by informing the military but he refused. However, a military force of about 40 did come after a few hours while the fight was still going on. Then they were taken for refuge and when they returned they found their houses completely destroyed. He also says that while this was going on the local Muslims raped a number of girls whose names he has given. He has also given the names of the persons responsible. He says that this was done in the open. He says that for about 3 days the police were also inactive.

Saraswati Sarkar, DT-125, an old woman of says :

"I lived my whole life in Pakistan. I never saw nor dreamed that such a thing could happen—a thing done

by human beings upon the human beings, who were weaker by temperament, by race, by circumstances and not by choice. The night was dreadful, as if the doors of hell were forced wide open and the whole civilisation was seized by never-ending dark forces. As if the whole darkness burst upon civilisation, and human society and in a moment submerged and upset the whole world-massacre, uprooted, annihilated life and all, wiped out everything.

"The night glowed with fire all round. Brute passionate beings—I cannot call them humans—forced themselves suddenly in great numbers with terrific maddening shouts, and destroyed everything that came their way, at random, in mad fury, in a terrible whirl of communal fury. They were not humans, I said, worse than the worst animals. Even animals have shame, some regard and considerations, but these beings, evil forces of dark nature, were absolutely uninhibited, without any sense, or shame.

"I cannot describe the sight. My son, nor I myself have the will or taste (she told the recorder with a sob, tears rolling down her clean, cultured, face) They chased women, children, men like ferocious, blind and passionate brutes, hungry for blood and murder, and flesh of women. They jerked out the children from women, threw them anywhere and dragged their mothers, like tigers with their prey, behind a bush, or just in the open, so hot and immediate had been their urge. They chopped, hacked, minced human beings as if in a desperate delicious urge. Shrieks, screams, shouts, groans, moans, tears, entreaties pierced the night which shivered—and everything was drowned by the rioter,s cry of Jehad, their glee or mirth or shouts of sensual relief. I saw myself thus being slain several human beings, including children and women. It was like a sudden burst of storm. It was a winter night when the children of the family sat for supper. The sudden gale upset everything, submerged everything in limitless darkness and all fled in all directions in terrible fear of massacre. I had been a known and respected personality, as you see my son, quite old, feeble and humble and decrepit, but none gave me shelter that night. At one place, I was even physically showed out with injury, added to insult, and groped in the darkness, in dirt, in refuse and then settled finally in the jungle, by a ditch, in the paddy fields.

"While I was staying there, I don't know what time it was at night, Chairman Gahur, of vill. Mandi

Dacca, saw me and took me to his house. He kept me at his house for 3 days, then sent me to Dacca, in a camp, in Jagannath College from where my younger son brought me after about 3 weeks.

There are several others of my family and relations I have not been as yet able to make contact with.

I am afraid the girls have been abducted and the males killed.

I am convinced that quite a few hundreds have been killed and fatally injured that night on the firsr fury of riot, a large number of women have been ravished and abducted and the loss of property cannot be estimated. So entire and wast had been the devastation.

Among those killed were her son, daughter-in-law, two grandsons and two granddaughters and her daughter and son-in-law.

Anand Nagar. This village is near Tejgaon town.

Jagdish Chandra Das, DT 29, says that he was in Khulna when the trouble started there and he was returning home for the Poush Sankranti festival (January 14, 1964) with his brother. Both of them were dressed like Muslims.

He says that, all along the way, from the steamer he saw villages burning. He says that the whole town was full of hooligans. After he reachad home he was taking his wife along for safety when he, his wife and his brother were chased by armed hooligans, but they managed to evade them and reached the village Marda where a camp had been set up. The Chairman Mansoor Mia used his gun to repel the attack on this camp when it came. He also gave money to the hooligans of the village and enlisted their help for protecting the Hindus.

Similar are the accounts given by witnesses from Chandure, Sampu, Baisbari, Baksar, Baksar Kadamtoli, Baluditpur, Diabari, Shita, Kajalarpara, Madarsarba, Mirpur, Kanthaldi, Mandura Kajilgaon, Kajlerpar, Karambazar, Rashpur, Nayatta, Basila, Turail Buruidde, Mendipur, Khilgaon, Mahammadpur, Gorah, Dhitpur, Kazibagh, Aruldah, Pashkhola, Janabar Arshotia, Jababari, Naraipur, Tarpabazar Daina Sharai.

P.S. Baidur Bazar. Barodi. Man Mohan Burman, DB 40, says that his village was attacked. It was looted

and gutted. He ran for safety when he saw human beings slaughtered like beasts. His wife was killed and his only son was seriously injured. He went to Baidur Bazar Police Station and asked for help but no help was given. He says that the assailants were coming in buses of Momin and Co. He took shelter in the hospital and after some days left for Narayangunj camp. On his way he saw large number of dead bodies lying on both the sides of the road. He says that the day before the attack the Hindus of the village had paid a large amount of protection money but this did not help them.

Basuda Das, DB 68, says that the village was close to Dacca. Soon after the trouble in Dacca the neighbouring villages were attacked. He also says that they had paid protection money to the local Muslims but the attack still came and large number of Hindus, including women, were killed. This continued for 3 days. His nephew was killed.

Witness **DB 9,** also speaks of the protection money and about the attack.

Other witnesses from this village also state that protection money was paid.

Damoderdi. Similar are the statements from the village Damodardi regarding protection money. Luckily not much damage was done although some houses were burnt and looted.

Mogbazar. Madusudan Paul, DB-2, says that a large mob attacked Hindu houses which were looted and set on fire. The mob was led by Ismile Arzi, a member of the Union Council. His house was looted and burnt and his elder brother was severely injured. A few hundred Hindus were killed. He saw later large number of bodies lying here and there and floating in the river. He gives the names of 4 of his relatives who were killed. He also mentions the names of 4 women who were raped.

Chand Malo. DB-65, says that petrol was sprinkled on his house which was set on fire. He says he, along with his family, took shelter in the nearby forest. He says that Muslims looted houses and burnt them.

Abinash Chandra Datta, DB-20, describes the attack which took place on January 16, 1964, and says that many persons took shelter in paddy-fields for 5 days. Many Hindus were injured including himself and his brother. His wife was taken away and some Muslims raped her.

Several other witnesses speak about the attack on this village and say that their houses were burnt. Some of them were sheltered in the house of Chand Mia.

Mograpraa. **Chandra Kant Bhowmik, DB-94**, says that he had gone to this village to visit a relative. On the next day when they were taking their meal, a large number of people rushed in shouting '**Hindur Bish Aar Rakhabona**" that is to say that there will be no trace left of Hindus. They caught hold of his relatives and cut off his head. His wife was just bringing in the meal. Her head was also cut off. The 17 year daughter of his relative was throttled to death and two small children were also killed with spears and their bodies were thrown into the river. He ran away and reached his own village in Commila after 3 days.

Gobtali. Akshoy Kumar, Sarkar DB-70, says that on the 16th morning the attack came. The women and children had been sent away anticipating this. However, when the actual attack took place he also ran into the jungles and they were pursued there. He saw in the near-by fields a number of dead bodies and a number of badly injured persons. He saw fire from his village which was completely destroyed. He says that 4 of his relations apart from others were killed. He also gives the names of some of the assailants.

Adaitya Das, D-41, says that on the morning of January 16, 1964 hundreds of Muslims entered th: village, looted and burnt all Hindu houses. Men, women and children were brutally assaulted and a number of them were killed. Among them was his mother. The head of his daughter was fractured He says, "We lost all in this mob fury."

Amar Chand Sarkar, DB-8, says that his house was looted and burnt and number of people were killed. He took shelter in the house of one Ismile of the village Utadi. After 2 days a gang led by a local Muslim teacher of Bailpara High School forced all the Hindus who had taken refuge in that village to be converted.

Nabdwip Chandra Das, DB-6, says that his grand-mother was killed as also another woman of his village.

Similar is the statetment of DB-5 from this village.

Ashrajdi—Manoranjan Das, DB-13, says that his village was attacked and his aunt and the husband of his cousin were killed. His uncle, brother and himself were badly injured. Among the assailants, some of whose names he has given, is Sardar Ali, father of the Chairman Ra bukul Islam.

He showed his injuries to the questioner.

Witness **DB-22** says that his son aged 3 was killed and he himself was injured—injury shown.

Witness **DB-15** mentions the names of 6 members of his family who were killed and he himself was injured—Injury shown.

Witness **DB-16** says that his cousin was killed.

Ladurchar. **Debendra Chandra Day, DB-44** says that the local Muslims attacked Hindu houses and burnt them and Hindus were beaten up. Police help was sought for but the police came after a week and when they came they told the Muslims that Ayub Khan's order was to kill Hindus and not to destroy their properties. The witness thereafter ran away. He says that the attackers were led by two members of the Union Board whose names he has given.

Asha Rani Day, DB-10, says that her house was burnt and all her properties were taken away.

Adampur. Nepal Chandra Das, DB-81, says that his village was attacked by thousands of Muslim raiders from Dacca and Narayangunj on January 16, 1964 when Hindus were leaving to take shelter in a neighbouring village, having heard the cries for help and seeing the fire from adjacent villages. Suresh Chandra Paul of Ramakrishna Mission tried to resist and died heroically. Six members of his family were also killed. The Muslims destroyed all the Hindu houses by setting fire to them after looting. The Kali temple was also burnt. Chairman of U.C. Board demanded the girls of the village. They took shelter in Baidur Bazar police station.

Similar is the satement regarding Suresh Paul by D.B-48.

The bravery of Suresh Paul and the killing of 6 members of his family is also mentioned by DB-52 of village Mat Bari and DB-60 of village Sonargaon Panaum.

Beherkur—Umesh Chandra Haldar, DB-79, says that his village was attacked by the workers of Adamji Jute Mills at about 7 a,m. on January 14, 1964. All the

Hindu houses were looted and then burnt to ashes. 13 Hindus were killed in the village.

They took shelter in a primary school at Dighirbazar. Police arrived at Dighirbazar but they did nothing when 10,000 Muslims attacked the village. The miscreants also attacked the primary school, where the Hindus had taken shelter and killed 30 persons in the school premises The witness says that they went back to their village when military arrived the next day.

Similar is the statement given by DBG-80.

Both these witnesses refer to the abduction by Muslim goondas of the sister of Gaurang Biswas, who was rescued after a few hours from a paddy field. One of her breasts was chopped off.

Sonargaon. Panaum. Nanibala Das, DB-60, a woman of 30, describes the attack and says that Suresh Paul gave a gallant fight but was outnumbered by Muslims and was killed. She says that Muslims tried to burn their houses by pouring petrol on them. But they could not do so as most of the houses were brick-built, although the Muslim raiders took away their windows and doors.

She mentions a case of abduction of the daughter-in-law of Gopi Karmakar and two other women. She also mentions the names of the assailants one of whom was Subhan, the brother of the Chairman Badsa Mia.

Krishasan. Sibasankar Ray, DB-69, says that his village was raided by Muslims on January 14, 1964. All the Hindu houses were burnt to ashes and 12 Hindus of his village were killed among whom were his uncle aged 65 and a cousin aged 45.

Kabilgunj. Sashi Mohan Paul, DB-58, says that the local Muslims who were guarding the Hindus since January 14, 1964, told them on the January 17, 1964 that Hindus should leave the village as they were not able to protect them any more. The witness says that he saw some hooligans dancing in his house with open daggers. Not knowing what happened to his wife and children, and being frightened, he ran away by the back door of the house and took shelter in the jungle.

He met his family at Baidur Bazar police station. He says that he heard from his wife that she was molested by Muslim miscreants and was robbed off her all ornaments and her life was spared.

Chandra Mohan Das, DB-59, describes the attack on his village and says that his two uncles and two cousins were killed during the attack.

Bimal Chandra Das, DR-36, states that his village was attacked in January last by the Muslims. The withness was at work but apprehending dang er he started for his house when he was caught by a gang of goondas who wanted to kill him. But taking all that he had they let him off. When he was running for safety he was naught by another group of goondas. By paying Rs. 5 to them he got rid of them. He says when he reached home he saw that all the Hindu houses of the village were looted and gutted. When Hindus were fleeing that night many of them were murdered among whom were his mother, one cousin ane 3 nephews. He also mentions that his uncle and a cousin were injured.

Similar story is given by the witnesses from villages, Chakka, Kandi, Bagbari, Chengai, Sutrapara, Satbhaipara, Jampur, Hamchandi, Gangapur, Maligaon, Bhattapore, Baronager, Jatrabari, Bhairabdi and Bastal.

P.S. Rupgunj. Taitka. This village is very close to the Mill area.

Ramesh Mandal, DR-166, says that he lived in Kawran Bazar in Tejgaon. But when that area was attacked he and his wife went to their village The next day this village was raided by Muslims from the neighbouring villages. His house, along with the other houses of Hindus were looted and burnt. One Muslim wanted to marry the sister of his father-in-law but his father-in-law and his brother-in-law would not agree to this. Both of them were killed and the girl was taken away and raped. When she was rescued after 5 days she was found badly injured. He says that number of people in his village were killed and the dead bodies thrown into the river Lakha. He says that the police was informed but they took no action. His aunt was one of the persons injured.

Chand Mohan Biswas, DN 29, describes the attack in which all houses belonging to Hindus were looted and burnt. Some of the people ran and asked for shelter in the police station. This they got on payment of money. But after a day and a half the police demanded more money and when they could not pay they were driven out.

He gives the names of 5 of his neighbours, among many, who were killed.

Narendra Biswas, DR 18, gives a similar description of the happenings and says number of persons were killed. He says that people were running here and there

for safety. They then took shelter in the Government agricultural farm from where they were driven out at 3 a.m. by Aziz Mia. He had seen a number of dead bodies in the forest of village Hatibara and also on the banks of the river. He says that Chairman Hussin Khan of Mandirkhola was leading the attackers.

He has given the names of 3 members of his family his brother, sister-in-law and two nephews. He also says family of one Malon Biswas was wiped out. This has also been stated by **DR** 112 and **DR** 111.

He also says that 2 women were raped inside the agricultural farm by Tanu and Aziz Mia.

Kant Biswas, DR 76, and Manindra Biswas, DR 78, say that when the village was attacked, they ran for shelter to the agricultural farm and later in a textile mill near the village, where police had been posted because of labour trouble. The police agreed to protect them on payment of large sums of money. The nephew of the first witness aged 12 was killed and niece aged 3 was injured.

Madan Mohan Biswas, DR 122, says that the village was attacked on January 14, 1964. But a member of the U.C. of this village managed to stave off the attack. Next afternoon a few thousand workers of Bela and Gani Jute Mills and some textile mills attacked the village and the same thing happened namely looting. burning and killing of Hindus. He gives the names of 6 members of his family who were killed and 4 who were injured. He also gives the names of the assailants.

DR 116, gives the names of 5 persons of his village who were killed. He also gives the names of some of the assailants.

Similar are the accounts given by a number of witnesses who also mention the names of the persons killed, women raped and the names of some of the assailants. We shall give the numbers of these: DR 1. DR 10, DR, 19, DR 21, DR 30, DR 64, DR 65, DR 72, DR 103, DR104, DR 106, DR 110, DR 111, DR 112, DR 117, DR 118, DR 119, DR 120 DR 121.

Dakshinpara. Binoda Sarkar, DR-165, says that on January 14, 1964 at about 8 a.m., when the attack came she collected her valuables and put them in a suit-case and began to run with her children along with her 6 year old baby. On her way she was stopped at the point

of a dagger by Muslims and they took away everything from her. Her brother, a business man, who had a large sum of money with him, was just behind her. He was very severely beaten and his money was taken away. He asked for water and he was thrown into the river. Her brother's children were also thrown into the river. When they reached a police station they were given shelter by the Hindu officer. Then the police station was attacked and he fired. When his ammunition was exhausted he went to fetch some more and he was killed by the Muslim constables in that room. Then the witness and others were driven out at the point of gun by a Muslim officer. She says that she saw a large number of armed Muslims waiting outside. She managed to run away and tried to get shelter and some water from some Muslims who were living close to the police station. She was told that shelter will be given if she became a Muslim. From there she managed to reach a camp at Panchkhola and they went back to the village after a fortnight. She says that her brother, sister-in-law, one nephew aged 5, two nieces aged 3 and two daughters were killed.

Ram Keshab Majumdar, DR-136, an employee of the Adamji Jute Mills, says that he was going to his work but was stabbed by a large mob of workers of Gani Mills at Damra. When he came back he found that his house, along with other houses of Hindus, had been set on fire. He says later he found that not a single house in the 42 villages, under Rupgunj P.S., was spared. He says that large number of Hindus were killed in the village. Many ran to the P.S. at Rupgunj but after 2 days they were driven out and many of them were slaughtered by the Muslims. He gives the names of 3 of his relations who were killed. He along with a few managed to reach Barait where large number of Hindus had been given shelter by Jabbar Mia, the Chairman of the U.C. of Barait who has been mentioned by other witnesses also.

Babul Chandra Sarkar, DR-147. says that Muslim Mill workers gathered and held meetings in Paschimgaon where anti-Hindu feelings were expressed. Those workers and the Muslims from Paschimgaon attacked this village. A resistance was put up but they were outnumbered and some of them ran to the neighbouring village of Kaithpara. In this attack about 30 Hindus were killed. At Paithpara they went to the officer-in-charge of the P.S. but they were driven out. From there they went to Nagarpara, Dacca, where they were given Muslim dresses and were asked to pick up dead bodies of Hindus and to dump them into the Balu river. He

says he has seen a very large number of dead bodies and also a large number of badly injured persons near the bank of the river. He says he saw Hindu girls being raped.

He mentions that 20 persons, mostly his neighbours, including his uncle, were killed. He himself was injured so were two of his neighbours.

Parbati Mistri, DR-151, a woman of 65, says that her village was attacked by a large number of Muslims at about 8 a.m. on Pousb Sankranti (January 14, 1964) day. They looted and set on fire the Hindu houses. She says she with others began to run here and there for the safety of their lives. Many people were killed. She went to a police station along with others. After 8 days she got information that her only son had been killed by Muslims. She identified his decomposed body. She says that her son took shelter at his friend Sabruddin's house at Paschimgaon. The attackers drove him out of Sabruddin's house and killed him. They also killed many other Hindus whose dead bodies she saw at Paschimgaon. She says about 50 persons of her own village had been butchered.

Shabi Mohan Das, DR-159, describes the attack by Muslims and says that Hindus had to leave, leaving everything behind. He says that he had to pay Rs. 2,000 to muslim goondas when he was on his way to P. S. Rupgunj. Hindus took shelter in P. S. Rupgunj from where they were driven out. About 500 Hindus were killed, even the women and children were not spared. Hindu houses were gutted and properties were looted. Everywhere in the area it was a reign of terror.

From there he went to Barait camp where large number of Hindus had been given shelter by Jabbar Mia.

He mentions that his sister and aunt and 18 members o f his maternal uncle's family were stabbed.

DR-123, describes the attack on her village and says that her two uncles-in-law and 2 brothers-in-law were killed during the riots.

Hariprahllad Roy, DR-50, describes the attack and says that among many Hindus who were killed, was one of his relations, the husband of his niece. His niece also was raped and she had to be taken to the hospital for treatment. She was struck with an iron rod on the head. He says that he was also beaten by an iron rod when he was working in the brick-works. He also took shelter with his family at the house of Jabbar Mia.

Many witnesses refer to the incident of driving away the sheltered Hindus from P.S. Rupgunj.

Similar stories are given by witnesses DR 84, DR 70, DR 129, DR 125, DR 161, DR 153, DR 154, DR 152, DR 145 and DR 138.

Pirolia. Matimaya Dasi, DR 61, a young woman of 26, says that when the disturbances started in her locality she with her family took shelter in a house of Lalu Mia, a Muslim friend. When his house was sur ounded by Muslims to search for hiding Hindus, she with others started running for shelter to the nearest policc station. The raiders attacked them on the way and her husband was killed and she and her son got injured. Her mother-in-law and brother-in-law were also killed in the jungle. When the situation became normal she went to her sister and from there came to India.

Duryodhan Baroi, DR 133, says that his village was attacked, looted and burnt and at about 10.30 a.m. on January 14, 1964, they took shelter at Lalu Mia's house at Nagarpara. This house was also raided by the Muslim mob on January 15, 1964. Hindus were killed indiscriminately. He says that 42 Hindus of his village were killed among whom were his brother's wife, brother's daughter and granddaughter, brother's daughter-in-law, a cousin and his wife, two cousins and one aunt. His younger brother and a cousin were also injured.

He says that he saw innumerable dead bodies floating in the nearby river Balu and scattered on the road,

DR 134, also mentions the same incident as above and says that his father-in-law and mother-in-law, brother-in-law and his son, and his own son were killed.

Similar is the statement given by DR 150. He describes the attack and says that 45 persons were killed in his village. His uncle was killed in his presence. Among the 45 persons killed, 18 were his family members. They were his father, mother, sister, cousin, cousin's wife and her two children aged 6 and 3, uncle, aunt and cousin aged 7, two cousins and their wives, one son of a cousin, and his three daughters aged 9, 3 and 1.

His other uncle and cousin were injured.

He says that his cousin aged 12 and sister aged 14, were abducted and they did not return.

Durbar Barai, **DR-143**, says that on January 14, 1964, the village was attacked and set on fire. His house was also burnt. He took refuge in a neighbouring Muslim house but he was asked to leave as his host was afraid of the attackers. Then large number of Hindus started going towards Nagarpara when on the way they were attacked by armed Muslims. They killed men, women and children indiscriminately. He fled into the forest He was separated from his parents. After two days he found their dead bodies floating in the river. His wife, one child and his sister were killed. His younger brother was severely injured. The witness was taken to the police station by a Muslim. Large number of people from his village were killed. He says that he had seen vultures feasting on the dead bodies. In all, 11 members of his family were killed. Apart from those mentioned earlier 3 of his aunts, two uncles, and his grand mother were killed, His daughter and sister were 2 and 5 years of age. His brother who was injured was 12 years old.

Kayetpara & North Kayetpara. Bipin Mandal, DR-146, describes the attack which went on for two days. It was similar to other areas. Here also looting and burning of Hindu houses took place. He fled and he says that he had to run over the dead bodies strewn on the roads and fields. He said on occasions he lay down on the dead bodies pretending to be dead to save himself. He says he has seen dead bodies of women with their breasts cut off and pushed inside the mouths of dead children lying by their side. He says that he saw 13 big boats packed with dead bodies which were later dumped into the river Balu. He says even the ships could not ply for a few days. He gives the names of 5 persons including an uncle and cousin who were killed.

Bindarani Karmakar, DR-32, says that during the attack her husband and her elder brother-in-law were killed in her presence. Her house was looted and so were the other houses. Large number of persons were killed and cattle were taken away. She mentions the names of two girls, whose father was killed, and who were abducted and kept by Muslims for 15 days.

Ranabala Roy DR-144, says that she was at her father's place in Keytpara when the village was attacked. She says that two women of the village were beaten to death. Next day her husband came and told her that, that village had also been attacked and a number of people were killed. They came to know after 15 days that in that village 20 of her relations were killed including her father and mother-in-law, uncle and aunt-in-law and a sister-in-law aged 3.

DR-140, says that her elder brother was killed. She also mentions the names of 4 women who were abducted and the names of the miscreants.

DR-141, says that his mother, two brothers and uncle and aunt were among those killed. He also mentions the same names of the women who were abducted as the previous one.

DR-85, says that her father, nephew aged 3, mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law were killed. Her husband and two brothers were injured.

DR-37, mentions that his elder brother was killed and two nephews were injured.

DR-55, says that his wife was killed.

DR-80, says that she and her husband were injured.

DR-163, says that his sister was killed.

Karnagope. Jogopal Biswas, DR-88, a boy of 15, says that he took refuge in a house of a Muslim friend of his father. But he was asked to leave. Then he, along with other members of his family, went to a police station but were asked to leave because the police said their telephonic orders were that no refugee should be permitted to stay there.

Anand Mistry, DR-47, says that the village was attacked at night and Hindu houses were looted and burnt. He ran away and when he returned after 2 or 3 days he saw several dead bodies.

Umakant Chakrabarti, DR-162, describes the attack in which his house was looted and burnt. When he came back to the village after some time he was set upon by a gang of armed Muslims who compelled him to undergo a conversion. His uncle-in-law was killed.

DR-45, says that his maternal uncle was killed.

DR-44, says that his cousin was killed.

Similar are the accounts given by other witnesses.

Gola Kandyl. This village is quite close to the Mill area in Fatulla and Narayangunj.

Saradhani Dasi, DR-93, says on January 16, 1964 in the morning a Muslim mob came to the village in 11 buses. They ran away and took shelter in a bamboo thicket. "During the attack", she says, "My sister who was in advanced stage of pregnancy was struck with an iron rod by a Muslim and her belly was knifed open, then the unborn child was pulled out from the womb and killed with a dagger. They placed the dead body under the dead mother's head. A 2 years old son of my sister was killed with the dagger".

Surendra Chandra Das. DR-73, says that the attack came in the morning from armed Muslims. They tried to resist and the muslims retreated. But soon they came along with workers from Adamji and Karim Jute Mills. Then the villagers fled to take shelter when the looting and the burning of houses began. He says local Muslims refused to give any shelter. A very large number of Hindus in the village were killed including the family of the Hindu Chairman of the U.C.

He says that his brother and two nephews were also killed and his son was stabbed on the head.

Manindra Chandra Das, DR-66, says that he saw fire in the neighbouring villages of Kobagu, Bastal etc. When the fires were seen the Hindu Chairman of U.C. approached the police and was told that he should go to Dacca, which was some miles away, to get police help. He says two days later a large mob, mostly workers, from Adamji Mills, attacked. They could not get shelter from Muslims and they ran into the forest. They were chased and robbed at the point of daggers of all that they had.

After hiding in the jungles when they came out some armed Muslims again demanded money but they had nothing to give. They searched him and found a syringe on his person (the witness was a Compounder) and one of them shouted "Oh! he is a doctor, he must have given pain to many Muslims." He was then attacked with an axe and received an injury on his forehead, and he fell down unconscious. He also had injury on his fore-arm. His wife was also injured.

He mentions that 12 members of the family of a neighbour were killed and the eldest daughter of that family was kidnapped and raped. Two of the sons of that man received serious injuries. He also mentions the name of another woman who was also kidnapped after her both guardians were killed.

He gives the names of a neighbour and his wife who were killed. He himself and his wife were injured. He gives the names of some of the assailants.

He has shown the injuries to the questioner.

DR-58, says that her husband was killed and she and her 3 sons aged 10, 5 and 1 were injured.

DR-69, says that her husband was killed and brother, sister-in-law and nephew were injured.

DR-109, says her brother and sister-in-law were killed and another brother was injured.

Masaba. Ramananda Mitra, DR-22, a boy of 13 years of age says that they heard in the middle of January that the attacks on Hindus in various villages had started a few hours earlier. Large number of Hindus from nearby villages being panicky came to this village which was largely a Hindu village. The loot and arson were continuing in the nearby villages and they were apprehending an attack. They sent the chowkidar to Rupgunj P.S. The officer came and he later sent two armed policemen. They asked the police when they saw a mob at some distance, to fire in the air but the police refused and they went away. His father had started shifting their belongings to the house of one Islam Bhuia of Chandpara, a friend of his father, where the family also shifted. Accompanied by Islam Bhuia he and his father went back to the village to get some more of their belongings. This was during the day. While they were in the house the attack came and he saw that it was led by Abdul Hamid and Zomma, policemen of Perabo. He saw Abdul Hamid taking money from two rich fleeing Hindus on the threat of killing them. He then slipped out of the house and went to the house of a Hindu neighbour. The house was empty and he saw Shahajuddin of village Parabo struggling to lift a heavy load of booty. He threatened witness with a dagger unless he helped to lift the load on his head which witness did. He again saw Hamid taking away everything from a Hindu who was trying to flee.

Next morning his uncle went in search of shelter in a Hindu house in the nearby locality and the witness went to Golakandyl. While he was there he saw in the morning a large number of armed Muslims shouting 'Jehad' going along the road when soon thereafter a part of this mob attacked this village. He ran and hid himself in a forest. He says that from his hiding place he saw this mob killing Hindu men, women and children.

The witness was dressed as a Muslim and therefore he luckily escaped the fury. He says he saw all around fields strewn with innumerable mutilated bodies. Among these assailants he saw his Muslim teacher armed with a big dagger who recognised him and told him to run towards the southern direction if he wanted to save himself.

The witness started running but all around he saw the same scene. Among the dead and injured he saw his neighbour Chandra Sarkar, an old man, lying badly injured.

A Muslim who knew the witness came and demanded money from him. He had only 4 annas which he offered to give to the Muslim. But this was contemptuously refused.

He then returned to the house of Bhuia and was told that his family had been shifted to another place, otherwise they would have been murdered as the assailants were searching Muslim houses.

While he was resting there Bhuia's brother Alam asked him if he would become a Muslim and on his keeping silent, threatened to kill him but he was saved by Bhuia. During the night he slipped out of that house and proceeded towards his own village and saw on both sides of the fields innumerable dead bodies and some injured, who were groaning in pain. He came near a pond and decided to hide himself there behind the bushes, but seeing a floating head he got scared and spent the night in the field in the bitter cold.

Next morning a group of Muslim fishermen met him and one of them taking pity on him offered to adopt him. The witness, however, refused and he proceeded towards his village thinking by that time trouble might have subsided. There was not a soul to be seen and the houses had been completely ravaged and were still smouldering. He ran from there towards village Bhulta. There a large number of Hindus who had taken shelter in the house of Gol Box Bhuia, had been murdered and the nearby pond was full of swelling decomposed bodies.

Then he ran again and returned to the house of Bhuia. Alam met him but by now he had softened. Later Alam told him to go with him to collect loot from Golkandail. When they reached there the Muslims were taking away everything they could. He helped Alam to collect the

booty and on their way back they saw a very badly injured woman lying in a ditch. Alam wanted to kill her but the witness managed to persuade him not to. They went back. Next morning he learnt that his parents were staying in a refugee camp in village Diraba. Later they returned to their own village and Islam Bhuia helped them in every possible manner to resettle, and returned to them all that they had taken to his house for safe keeping. The whole family, however, decided to leave Pakistan because of complete insecurity.

Uma Charan Biswas, DR-102, describes the attack and also says that two policemen who had been sent there ran away. He says that the assailants killed Hindus. They took shelter in the house of a Muslim who took away all their belongings and ornaments from the women and drove them out.

Among the persons killed was his sister-in-law, niece aged 4 and his sister.

He gives the names of two girls who were abducted. One of whom was later on rescued.

Similar account is given by DR-96, who says that among the persons killed were his brother, brother-in-law, 4 daughters-in-law.

He also mentions the same name of a girl, as given by previous witness DR-102, who was abducted. She is his niece.

DR-42 and DR-43 made similar statements.

Ariaba Jagat Chandra Malik, DR-126, was a chowkidar in charge of 5 villages. When he saw that the nearby villages, among them were Nandipur, Kalibari, Bhekur, Diabari,Singlaba, Kachpur and other villages under police station Baidur Bazar, were burning he sought help from the police station and two armed police were sent. Similarly he says that the chowkidar of Masaba which is a neighbouring village had also asked for help. Later on in the evening when he reached with the police the village of Masaba, they saw fire in another neighbouring village Sutalara and he asked the police to fire in the air but they refused and ran away. He has described the scenes of slaughter of fleeing Hindus in the nearby fields and the fires all round. In this attack he and many of his family members were badly injured. He fell down unconscious. His elder brother was killed. He says that although he was in his chowkidar's uniform, he was not spared. When he became conscious he did not know what

had happened but he heard the voice of his wife. A boy who went in search of water was caught hold of. A gang of Muslims put his head under the mud. But thereafter the assailants left and the boy was saved. While they were lying in the field a gang came at noon and stabbed to death number of injured Hindus. Same thing happened later on in the evening.

He and his wife finally managed to reach the village of his mother-in-law.

As stated earlier his elder brother was killed and himself, his wife, mother, son, sister-in-law and niece were severely injured.

He has shown the injuries to the questioner.

Saugar. Saran Chandra Das, DR-90, says that large number of assailants came in buses of Momin and Company to his village. He was at that time at his shop and went home and from there, taking his wife and children, ran for shelter. 11 of his near relatives were killed. All the Hindu houses were pillaged and set on fire. Large number of Hindus were killed including some of the members of the family of the Hindu Chairman of the Union Council. He says that a number of women were raped in the open and after that they were killed. He says that dead bodies were seen scattered all round.

Debai. Falani Biswas, DR-67, says that when they heard Muslims shouting slogans and saw fires spreading in the village, she along with her family took refuge in Murapara hostel. Her husband who stayed behind was killed. She says that after 3 days the police drove them out from the hostel and they had to spend cold nights in the nearby fields.

Mahendra Chandra Mandal, DR-4, says **that** the village was attacked on the night of January 14, when the Hindu houses were burnt and many Hindus were killed. He, along with his family, took shelter in a paddy field but next morning went back to the village. His house had not been burnt. The attack came again that night and they took refuge in the Murapara hostel from where they were driven out by the police When he returned later on to his house he found that the house had been burnt.

Several other witnesses have also said that they were driven out from the hostel by the police. Among them are **DR-126** and DR-77.

Similar accounts have been given by DR-31, DR-39, DR-89 and DR-92.

From many other villages in P.S. Rupganj witnesses have given accounts of attacks on the villages similar in nature and names of their relatives who were killed and names of some of the women who were raped. We shall rest content with giving the names of these villages. They are Naora, Kaotola, Nayamati, Gaptali, Ichapur Saughat, Basulla, Bailpara Titabo, Gurgaon, Boruna, Taipkia, Bahila Bainadi, Soni, Harigaon, Rupshi, Saunaurapara, Golpara, Bania, Dighia Pur, Chani Narsingaon, Bansinagar, Meshrabaz (Dighirpar), Bolabo, Atlarpur Damra, Shewgoan, Murari, Hatipara Khadone, Kiravo, Tetlabhog.

P.S. Jaydebpur. Jaydebpur. Santipraba Rani, DJ-3, says that on the night of January 13, disturbances began. In terror we fled to nearby jungles. Next day there was arson, looting and stabbing in full swing. Miscreants, dagger in one hand and bottle of wine in other, danced devilishly putting ghungur (dancing bells) on their feet and thus stabbing people. We saw dead bodies in pools of blood on roadside. When we were in jungles our house was looted. After staying for eight days in jungles we went to Rajhari camp. After staying for six days we came back to our own house. But at night we did not dare to sleep in our own house, went to a neighbouring Hindu rich man's house. Habejuddin Miya gave us shelter for the whole day but at night drove us out.

Isor. Prafulla Surman, DJ-36, says that the village was attacked by the workers of the Tongi Mills and when Hindu houses were looted and burnt and Hindus killed not even children were spared. He went to Cassipur with his wife and family. His wife along with other women was given shelter in a Muslim house where the women were robbed of everything. His wife and 13 year old daughter were raped in that house. He met his wife and daughter after two days and ends by saying "What a massacre it was. none can imagine it if he did not see it." His two uncles and aunt were killed and his brother and sister-in-law had serious injuries.

Rama Chandra Burman, DJ-28 says that on January 14, 1964 the village was attacked. Hindu houses were looted and burnt. He ran from the house and saw the attack on his maternal uncle's house. All the members of that family were killed. They were 7. He gives the names of 3 of his neighbours who were seriously injured and he himself was stabbed.

He has pointed out his injury.

DJ-31, says that her maternal uncle and aunt were killed as also their son. Her nephew was also killed and her husband was seriously injured.

DJ-1, says that 6 of his near relations were killed including his uncle, aunt and brother.

DJ-38, says that his 2 uncles were killed.

Gutia. Manoranjan Roy, DJ-5, says that he was returning to the village from the market on January 15. On the way he saw villages being attacked. He says "Hindus in my village organised a vigilance party. We had 3 guns." They repulsed the attack on that day and when the military came in the evening they thought they were safe.

Next day a few thousand Muslims again raided the village. They resisted for 2 hours. Then the police also joined the attackers and opened fire on the spot. Then they retreated and went to the house of a Hindu Zamindar in Kasimpur.

He names 11 persons, some of his relations and some neighbours who were killed. Among those killed were mother, uncle and cousin. 2 of his neighbours were also injured.

Hari Gopal Malik, DG-9, A similar account, including the firing by the police on those resisting, is given by this witness.

He gives the names of 17 persons, some of whom were his relations, who were killed.

Similar are the accounts given by witness from Channa, Rudrapur, Kamarjuri, Kaddanandan, Majlispur, Titargati, Palasona, Padmapara, Bisaiakuri bari, Babupara, Deora, Kudaba, Pagar, Chikalia, Mudipara Andharal, Dhippur, Mashertek, Gacha.

P.S. Narsingdi. Sukumar Mitra, DND-1335. He was the solitary Hindu member of the Union Council. He had a shop in the Madhavdi bazar. When he learnt that 14 buses full of armed Muslims had reached the school building, he and other Hindu shop-keepers hurriedly closed their shops and went to his village Kotalirchar. Meanwhile, several Hindus were stabbed in the market. Hindu shops had been broken open and everything was looted including 81 safes. When he reached the village he found the bewildered Hindus in the streets. Quite a number of women took shelter in his house. Some of the local Muslims warned them that an attack was coming. Before they could leave, the plundering had started. Many of the attackers were local Muslims who were armed They ran for safety to the houses of friendly Muslims He was given shelter after some hesitation in one such house. He says "At least for 3 days we could find no trace of a policeman nor of any assistance from the authorities. The house in which he took shelter belonged to the son of the Chairman of U C. He and his family stayed there for 5 days. Later on he made a report to the Chairman, the Officer-in-Charge of Narsingdi Police Station, Sub-Divisional Officer, Narayangunj, Supdt. of Police, Dacca and to the Commander of East Pakistan Rifles but none of them took any notice.

Mahendra Kumar Chakrabarti, DND-1336, of village Nowpara had also a shop in Madhavdi bazar, which was completely looted. He took refuge in a Muslim house for 2 days in a nearby village. Thereafter he went to his village and found his house looted and no trace of his mother and sister whom he found later on in a Muslim house. He also says that for 3 days there was no trace of any authority.

Some other witnesses have also mentioned that the assailants came by buses. Similar large scale looting, burning and killing took place in this P. S. also. We shall give the names of the other affected villages :

Charagdi, Puranchar, Baberkandi, Gopaldi, Chinbalabhog, Mulpara, Balapur, Kondail and Char Digaldi.

The attacks started from Fatulla and Narayangunj areas but similar attacks on January 14 or 15 have taken place in a number of other areas in Dacca District. The attacks were of similar nature in which looting, arson, killing, abduction and rape took place. We do not propose to give detailed accounts of the happenings in these areas but shall only give the names of the areas and those of the villages in those areas which had suffered similar fate as in other areas.

P. S. Araihazar. Names of affected villages : Baliapara, Kalagachia, Monahar Di, Satamandi Uchitpara, Satgaon, Raipura, Sadasadi, Gopaldi, Pagli, Dooptara.

It may be mentioned that in many of the villages in this area the attacks began on January 15 and 16, 1964.

P. S. Sabhar. Names of affected villages : Konda, Baliarpur, Sarulia, Birulia Porabari, Mirpur, Banshbari, Deoliachola, Rastanpur, Kamakhoda, Sadilapur, Saipara Pipulia, Sadullahpur.

Kaliakair P. S. Kaliakair (town), Tughirchala, Madhyapara, Kalabandha, Kharida, East Chanda, Sonagola, Haza-

rachala, Bhannare Senabata, Vannara, Bhangaria, Bamun, Bagh, Sewala tala.

Keranigunj P. S. Dakhin Baghair, Pangaon, Basta, Chunkulia. Balirghata, Tegoria, Mirerbag.

Munshigunj P. S. Chegaburiakandi. Sudhachar Ganakpara, Jugarighat, Rajabari. Torki, Ussundi.

Sri Nagar P. S. Hasara, Bhagyakul, Garpara.

Tangi Bari P. S. Raipur, Sherjabad.

Both in Khulna and in this district practically all the witnesses have said that there was no security of life or property or honour of women and they were living in constant fear of Muslims who took from them whatever they wanted, reaped away their harvest, lifted their cattle, bamboos, paddy, hay, vegetables, utensils, fishing nets, boats and any other valuables they may have. They also say that in many places they were told by the local Muslims that there was no place for Hindus in Pakistan. All the people, who have come away, have left behind their lands and properties, in some cases substantial. Many had flourishing businesses but because of this utter insecurity they came away with the clothes they were wearing. There were also numerous cases of forced conversions or threats of such conversions and forced marriages. Large number of people who have come away are humble folk like cultivators, weavers, shop keepers, fishermen and industrial workers.

The more affluent refugees have not been found in the camps but we are reliably informed that a very large number of such middle class persons have sought shelter with their relatives after they came to India. Such persons are difficult to trace.

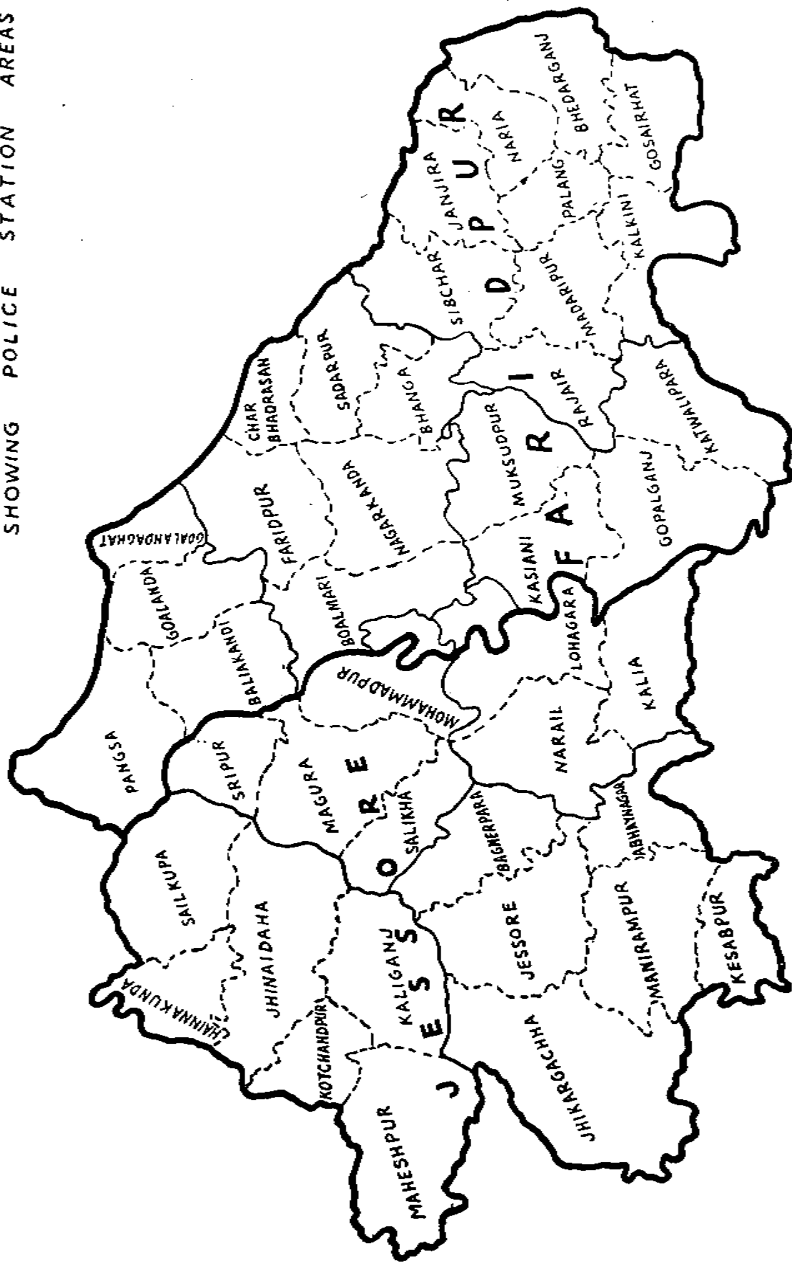
One thing, however is clear that no class of persons was spared. Practically all the witnesses have given the valuation of the properties they left behind. We have no way of ascertaining whether such valuation is the correct valuation or exaggeration. Be that as it may, one thing is clear that whoever managed to come, has come with nothing excepting the clothes he was wearing and some of them not even that. We have come across quite a number of instances in the camps of the new arrivals in various places in West Bengal where we have been told by those incharge of the camps, as well as by some of the persons concerned, that not even a stitch of clothing was left on them when they crossed the border. It may be mentioned that the majority of those who were in camps came without any kind of travel papers. Many of them walking miles, seeking an opportunity of crossing over at places where they could easily do so without running into check-post on Pakistan side.

As for the hardships they had to endure on the journey, it is difficult to describe adequately the sufferings they had to undergo on their hazardous journey. Wherever they went, on their way, they were robbed and beaten and the women raped.

In this connection we might make mention of the fact that there were large number of persons, mostly Muslims but some Hindus also, who made a regular business out of the miseries of people fleeing Pakistan. These people acted as touts and offered to convey the would-be migrants to some safe place, where they could cross over without papers. They exracted all they could out of these unfortunate people and made themselves responsible for accommodation on the way.

There are numerous cases in which when a group of migrants stopped for the night the touts arranged for their accommodation in Muslim houses. The men and women were put in different places and these touts made a lucrative business out of the women whom they brought to the houses where these unfortunate women were staying for the night.

The Police and the Ansars had also a share in all these whenever they could get it.



PART III

CHAPTER 3.

FARIDPUR DISTRICT

P.S. Gopangunj Krishnapur. Dinbandhu Biswas, FG-7, says that 12 Hindu houses including his own were looted and burnt by Muslims. He says that 3 men were shot dead by the raiders and the people sought refuge in the nearby forest. The nearby Hindu villages were also burning.

Haridaspur. Jatadhar Biswas, FG-16, says that all the surrounding villages were set on fire.

FG-22, FG-26, FG-42, FG-32 say the same thing.

Ujjini. Kajal Dhali, FG-40, says that Muslims attacked the village but men resisted. Next day again there was an attack and the witness along with others left the village after about 3 days. She says: "Before this mass attack we were disturbed in other ways. They used to come to our houses during the night and at the point of dagger women were raped. She herself was raped several times. Her husband and children were in the house and were told not to shout otherwise they would be killed.

Joyari. Golpi Kirtamia, FG-27, says that when the village was attacked number of people were killed and injured. She says that, when the miscreants tried to abduct her cousin, her uncle tried to stop this and he was killed. This girl was taken away.

Chilna. Jitendra Nath Adhikari, FG-21, says that in the middle of January a large number of Muslims raided the village, looted and set fire to the houses of Hindus. Although resistance was offered, 32 houses were burnt.

Similar is the statement of FG-25.

Padmabile. Atul Chandra Kanjilal, FG-34, says that the nearby villages and part of this village were burnt.

This happened in March 1963, in the presence of police Officers. Witness says that when they heard about the January attacks they decided to leave. He says that Muslims used to tell them that they had no right to live in Pakistan. He also says that attacks on women were regular incidents, and that life and honour was at stake and that the authorities were indifferent.

Ulpur. Sudhir Biswas, FG-6, says that in February, one night, the Muslims of the village in large numbers attacked. During this attack a number of houses were looted and Hindus were beaten and cattle were taken away.

FG-12, FG-51 state similar stories.

Kongsur. Jhandarani Bala, FG-5, says that the village was suddenly attacked by Muslims and many Hindu houses were looted and set on fire. She left the village and started for the Indian frontier.

Ghosar-Char. Krishna Das Biswas, FG-18, says that although nothing happened in the village, Muslim asked them to leave. They did this because the atrocities, which were going on were much more serious than what happened in 1950-51.

Karpara Juran Chandra Biswas, FG-15, says that 3 years ago resulting from a small quarrel, Muslims devastated about 13 villages and they lived in constant fear. Witness says he heard that 13 Hindus were killed in Gopalgunj town and in January '64 tension was very high. He also says that cases of loot and theft, particularly of live-stock and crops were common.

Kasiani. P.S. Hatiara. Manohar Sarkar, FKN-1, says that the village was attacked by a large gang of Muslims. Several houses were looted and burnt and two persons were killed.

Planned operations had a few distinct features—

(1) Theft and stealing away of things at day times.

(2) No payment in exchange of things taken;

(3) Threats to leave Pakistan;

(4) Forcible occupation of land and lifting paddy from land, cattle from fields and fruit and other things against which no protest or resistance was possible ;

(5) The authority in the form of Chairman was either weak or callous or a collaborator in the general scheme of oppression.

The acute sense of the absence of law and order and insecurity of life and property had been the cause of our leaving Pakistan.

Jhakabari. Biren Chandra Biswas, FKN-18, says that, when the troubles were going on in Dacca and Khulna, he heard that Muslims in his village were saying that since Muslims were being killed in 24 Parganas and Calcutta, they should take revenge. One night a Chariot of God Jagannath was burnt at Sripur and so was a Kali temple in Bahirbagh. One day thereafter a large gang of Muslims came to loot the crops in the fields. The local Muslims who intervened were abused. Then these miscreants seem to have got in touch with Dacca saying that Hindus were destroying, Hindu houses and properties. A military force arrived by plane but it was discovered by Faidud Jaman, a Minister who was in Sitarampur, and stopped any action by the military. But the tension continued.

FKN-11, FKN-12, and FKN-16 mention the destruction of the Chariot and of Kali temple.

Komalpur. Anileh Biswas, FKL-5, says that he was a school teacher in Darshna F.P. School. After the disturbances in Dacca and other places he was dismissed and went back to his own village. He was looking for something to earn his living but could not get it. The Chairman of the U.C. advised him to leave for India.

Singia. Abdoti Biswas, FKN-7, says that on April 3, 1964, a group of Muslims came to attack Hindu shops in the market. They looted his and other shops and Police was informed but they refused to take any steps against the Muslim mob.

Pangsa P.S. Madulia. Nagen Biswas, FMS-6, says, "When the trouble flared up in Dacca and Khulna and Hindu killing was in full swing, we were counting our days. In the last part of January Muslims attacked our village and set fire to Hindu houses. We approached the Chairman of U C. but to no avail. Muslims began to take away crops. I was insulted in public. Hindus were boycotted economically and politically. A cow belonging to a Hindu was slaughtered at night and its head was put in front of that house."

Sikhgaon. Dayal Chandra Mandal, FMS-7, says that the Muslims of his village began to discuss that the Holy Relic was stolen by Hindus and many Muslims in Kash-

mir were killed. Then they decided to plunder the village. They informed the Chairman who came with a Chowkidar but the Muslims destroyed all the images in the locality and stole away cattle. They also started occupying land and houses of Hindus. He says that there was no justice from the Government.

Boalmari P.S. Sherapur. Subodh Chandra Biswas, FMS-35, says that one Sunday in January 1964 the village was attacked and they ran away into the fields where the Muslims chased them. His wife received a stab injury and some others were also injured. Their paddy was looted.

Kotwalipara P.S. Chitosi Village. Manoranjan Sarkar, FK-20, says that 3 years previously a girl from a neighbouring village was abducted. He and others got together and recovered the girl. Thereupon a large gang came to attack the village but they resisted for two days. Thereupon first the police came and later military who opened fire on the Hindus. 14 or 15 villages were devastated. They were looted and set on fire. The police and military joined in this and large number of Hindus including the witness were severely beaten and arrested. In 1964 some goondas, whom he names were going to attack the Hindus when three Muslims whose names he has given called the prominent Hindus and extracted Rs. 1400/- as protection money. The Hindus were advised to stay-indoors. In spite of this 3 Hindu houses were looted and several women were raped. He mentions the name of a woman, who was raped by several Muslims and whose husband was tied up and beaten, They cut off her left breast. Police came the next day but they advised them to drop the matter for otherwise it would entail endless difficulties and harassment.

Unasia. Keshab Lal Saha, FK-16, says that the village was attacked one morning in February. His house was attacked on the previous night when the houses of Hindus were looted, number of Hindus were injured. His wife, daughter and a cousin were raped.

FK-12, FK-14, FK-15 give similar stories.

Kachikata. Lalit Haldar, FK-1, says that when the neighbouring village Parerpara was looted and burnt the witness along with many Hindus left the village and took refuge in a village Lakhuna some distance away. When they came back, they found that all the properties of Hindus had been looted.

Dharabasail. Saudhanya Roy, FK-6, says that since 1962 gangs of Muslims used to come and loot Hindu houses in the village. The police would do nothing.

Similar statements are made by FK-7 and FK-17.

Muksudpur P.S. Krishnadia. Rabindra Nath Dutta, FM-2, says that in the middle of January the village was raided by a gang of Muslims and 15 or 16 Hindu houses including his own were looted. They tried to abduct his sister-in-law the next day. He says that reaping of paddy from the fields, stealing of cattle, molestation of women were not uncommon.

FM-10 also gives similar incident.

Nanikhir. Chaitanya Sarkar, FM-4, mentions the looting of the Hindu houses including his own. He says that the Muslims used to slaughter cows in Hindu habitations.

Khalia. Dhiren Chakrabarti, FM-6, says that the temple of Annapurna was burnt and many houses were looted and burnt. From the statements of witnesses we find that number of villages were attacked. We shall only give the names of these villages. Alpara, Dastaboti. Bhanga, Nilertik, Amlati, Dakhinpara, Rubgoan, Jathia, Ambari, Kapalibari, Gosaila, Pinjuri, Kandil, Hiren, Sailla, Ram badrapur, Joypara.

It appears that the attacks in District Faridpur were not as numerous as those in Khulna and Dacca but the attacks did take place in which Hindu houses were looted and burnt. In this area, however, the attacks have been reported right upto April in some parts of the district. There were also a number of cases of abduction and rape.

Most of the witnesses examined by us, and they are numerous, have however stated, as in other areas, that there was complete insecurity for the Hindus and their women and their cattle, crops and other belongings and properties were looted. Most of them have also stated that the Muslims were very hostile and that the authorities gave no help. This state of affairs resulted in a large scale migration because of the killings which were going on in Dacca and Khulna.

PART III

CHAPTER 4

JESSORE DISTRICT

P.S. Jhikhargaccha. Village Gadkhali. Manoranjan Chakrabarti, 'J-11, states that in mid-January 1964, on 26th Poush day he was threatened by one Iddrish Mia and Jalil Mia that Hindus were going to learn a lesson very soon. If witness wanted to stay in Pakistan then he must embrace Islam. The same evening Hindu houses from the southern side of the village were set on fire. Three members of a Hindu family and 3 other Hindus were killed by Muslim miscreants. The house in which the witness was residing was looted and partially burnt. He ran away at night and took shelter in a neighbouring village.

Narendra Prasad Mukherji, JJ-9, says that his village was set on fire in the middle of January 1964 by Muslims of nearby villages. He says that he left the village with others and took shelter in a sugar-cane field. Next day they took shelter in a missionary home, Shimutia, about 3 miles away from his village. He saw 6 Hindus of his village killed by the Muslim mob and their dead bodies lying on the ground. They were stabbed to death. He gives the names of three girls of his village who were raped by Muslims when they took shelter in mango grove. They were found next morning. He also gives the names of the miscreants.

Nirapada Nath, JJ-10, also says that his village was attacked by a mob of Muslims and Hindu houses were looted and burnt. He says that his own house also was burnt. He says that 5 persons of his village were killed. He also mentions that 3 girls of his village were raped by Muslims and the names of miscreants, are the same as given in previous statement.

Jhikhargachha P.S. Jhikhargachha. Nirmala Dalal JJ-8, a young woman of 25, refers to the same attack of Muslim mob on Godkhali village and the looting and

burning of the houses and killing of 6 Hindus by the mob. She also refers to the rape and molestation of women and says that she became frightened. She says that Jhikhargachha was a business centre and her husband had a cloth shop there. Her husband had gone to Dacca to purchase cloth and did not return. She learnt from another cloth merchant of Dacca afterwards that he was killed by Muslims. His shop was also looted. Being frightened by the Godkhali incident and being left alone, she left Pakistan for India.

Nawali. Nalen Ghosh, JJ-1, says that his village was attacked by Muslims and some Hindu houses were looted and damaged. He also mentions the attack on Godkhali village and says that many Hindus were killed there among whom was his cousin, who went there for work.

Hindus, therefore, became panicky and left Pakistan and came to India for safety.

Keshabpur P.S. Kashimpur. Fakir Kumar Sarkar, JJ-22, says that his village was attacked by a group of Muslims in January 1964. Hindu houses were set on fire. Hindus left the village and took refuge in bamboo thicket for that night. Next day when they came back, the witness says, they found that their houses were completely looted by the Muslims.

Similar statements are given by JJ-2, JJ-21, and JJ-23.

Dohori. Kartik Chandra Biswas, JJ-25, says that in January 1964 his house and three other houses of his village were attacked and looted and gutted. Two Hindus of his village were burnt alive in their own houses. He also mentions that a daughter of his neighbour was abducted and raped. She was compelled to live with the Muslim for 15 days. After 15 days she was rescued by Hindus with the help of the police.

Manirampur P. S. Tekanailpur. Manohar Biswas, JL-16, says that local Muslims raided Hindu houses and gutted them. He says that his wife was abducted by Talebali. His neighbour's wife was molested by Akhan Mia, Chairman U. B.

Abhaynagar P. S Ichmati. Nagendra Nath Biswas, JN-21, says that his village was attacked on January 5, 1964, by Muslims. Hindu houses were looted. Two policemen were deputed to guard the village but they did-nothing. He says one unmarried girl from Beg Bose's house was abducted and raped by Muslims. She was

found in the house of Chairman, Samchar Kazi after 3 days. She was rescued by her father. He says being frightened he left Pakistan.

Samajpur. Jamini Kumar Biswas, JJ-14, says that village Shiromani, 2 miles away from his village, was attacked by Muslims. He could see fire and smoke from his house. He says that all of them were frightened. He says that the house of the brother of his son-in-law was raided at Amdanga village, and his daughter was abducted and raped. When she was found, she was bleeding profusely and expired next morning. He says that his own house was also raided and the raiders took away Rs. 1000/- in cash and looted the house.

Jafarpore. Ratan Nandi, JN-17, says that his village was attacked in February 1964. The Muslims looted Hindu houses and properties. Hindus took refuge at Dakshindi and were there for a day. Witness says, when he returned to the village, he found that nothing was left there. He became frightened and left Pakistan for safety.

P.S. Kalia. Baraipara Nishi Kanta Saha, JK-19, says that his shop was looted in the market by Muslims. When he resisted he was hit by a lathi (wooden staff). When the situation became normal he arranged to leave his home and left Pakistan.

Parakhali. Nirmala Bhattacharya, JK-18, a young woman of 28 says that her village was looted and Hindus were threatened by the Muslims. Being frightened she left Pakistan with many other people who were also leaving.

Bagarpara P.S. Baruari. Sachin Bhattacharjee, JN-22, says that his village was attacked and Hindu houses were looted and set on fire. Hindus left the houses and took shelter in the forest. While fleeing his 13-year old son was seriously injured. He gives the names of the assailants. He says he left Pakistan for safety.

Sarsa P.S. Madartola. Haripada Das, JS-7, says that the local Muslims abducted his wife and converted her forcibly. He has given the names of the miscreants as Latif, Santosh, Natriuddin and Intaz of Subarnakhali, P.S. Sarsa.

Same incident is reported by JS-6, JS-5, JS-4 and JS-3.

Rasik Lal Das JS-5, mentions that the Hindu houses of his village were completely looted and they were threatened to be killed if they did not leave Pakistan.

Sri Dam Biswas JS-4, says that about 200 Muslims of the neighbouring village attacked his village in mid January and looted all the houses. Witness and others took shelter in a nearby forest for more than three days. "Muslims always used to ask us to leave Pakistan." As there was no alternative, they had to leave Pakistan for safety.

Pagal Biswas. Rajbanshi, JS-3, describes the attack and says that 5 of his cows were taken away forcibly by the Muslims. He was also beaten by them. He says he along with others left Pakistan for safety and honour.

Subarnakhali. Ruprani Biswas JS 13, says that her son's marriage took place at Subarnakhali where many people and friends were assembled in January 1964. Her house was raided and looted by the Muslims.

The raiders came again but they were resisted. When they came for the third time they tried to abduct her newly married daughter-in-law but they could not. She was saved but her son and aunt-in-law were injured.

Being frightened they left Pakistan the next day.

Similar statement is given by JS-14, Bepin Behari Biswas, husband of the previous witness.

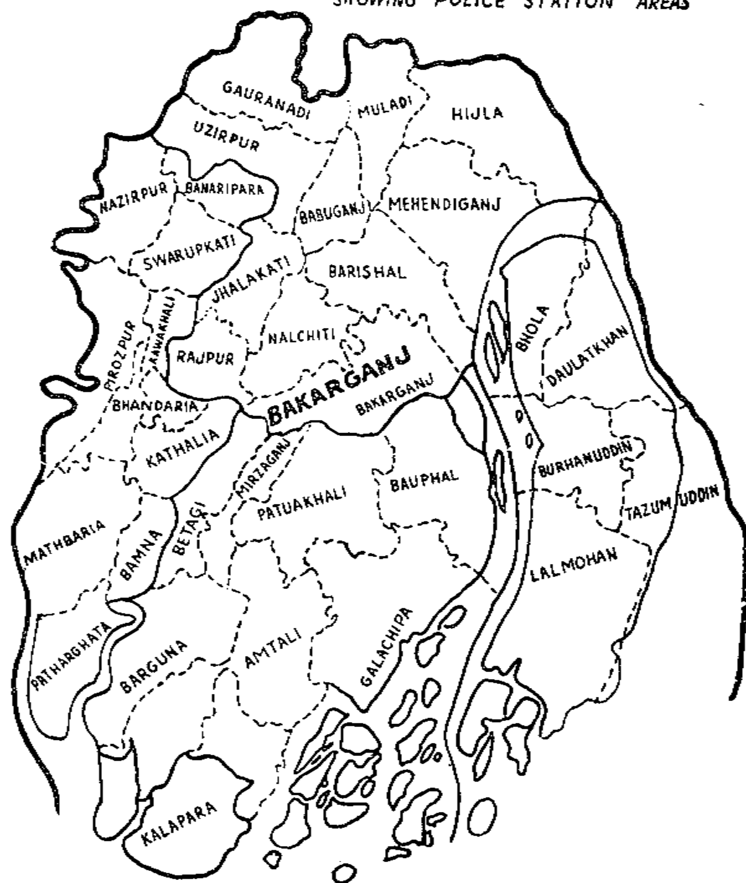
There are several other statements of attacks on villages. We shall give the names of these villages.

Sanyasitola, Laxmanpara, Harinpata, Charbaragola, Rukshakandi, Nakail, Bhatoi, Asurhat and Talkari.

In this district also, every witness has stated that there had been complete lack of security of person or property and that there was no redress from the authorities.

MAP OF BAKARGANJ

SHOWING POLICE STATION AREAS



PART III

CHAPTER 5

DISTRICT BAKARGUNJ

Barisal town. Mrutyunjoy, Saha, BMS-3, Jhowtalae Road area, says that when riot broke out, Mr. S. Nur Mohammed, a Bengali District Magistrate took swift action and arrested 50 notorious Muslim goondas from Chamarpati, imposed section 144 and kept the situation under control.

The local influential Muslims, including lawyers, organised a secret meeting and sent a joint petition to Dacca High Command, demanding S. Nur Mohammed's immediate removal, for they said, he was siding with the Hindus and oppressing good Muslims. Witness says that Mr. Mohammed got his transfer order within 2 days as demanded by the local influentials. The new Magistrate withdrew Section 144 and released all the arrested goondas. He says the attacks began in a renewed fury. Quite a large number of Hindu shops were looted and burnt. Several were murdered. Chaos and confusion took hold of the town and the Hindus were the defenceless victims. Witness says that he and his family moved out of the town and left Pakistan for India.

Kumrakhali. Manoranjan Roy, BMS-43 of Kumrakhali village says that in the month of January riot broke out in Barisal town where he had his furniture shop. It was burnt by the Muslim miscreants with petrol. He was hit by a spear on the right leg. He left for his village home at Kumrakhali and left Barisal for the following reasons :—

(1) Life was insecure.

(2) Cows taken away.

(3) The daughter of Sri Aswini Kumar Natta (age 16) was forcibly taken away. The daughter and wife of Sri Kamini Kumar Paik, were also taken away. They were traced out with police help after a month from Muslims' Houses.

(4) Economic boycott. Had no employment there. Could not start my business anew.

Injury was pointed out by witness.

Nazirpur P.S. Gaonkhali. Golapi Baidya, BN-6, says that one night a gang of hooligans entered her house by breaking the door of the house. They demanded money from her husband who gave them Rs. 200/-. They were not satisfied and hit her husband with a rod and stabbed him on the back. He died immediately. They also hit her and her baby who was in her arms and dashed them towards the wall. She says that she became unconscious for some time. Her neighbour came to rescue them but by that time miscreants had left after looting everything in the house. She says that she complained to the Chairman of the U. C. but he took no notice of the incident. Then she decided to leave Pakistan and came to India.

Bettala. Saraswati Majhi, BN-32, says that her village was attacked by a group of Muslims in mid February 1964. He says that he received stab injuries while he was running to take shelter in the paddy field.

Witness pointed out his injuries.

Bildumaria. Kamini K. Majumdar, BN-5, says that every night Muslims used to go to their houses and threaten them to death. One day a gang of Muslims attacked his sister's house. She was living near his house. They snatched away all her property and struck her on the head with a rod. She became unconscious. He says that under these circumstances it was impossible to stay in Pakistan and left for India.

Tarabania. Gour Roy, BN-11, says that when he was staying at village Khaligpur he saw a mob of Muslims coming towards their direction. The mob plundered the houses of Hindus and set fire to them. They killed 6 Hindus. He mentions the name of a girl who was raped by some Muslim goondas in front of her relations. He also mentions the name of another girl who was abducted and was not traced.

Debtala. Ananta K. Baidya, BN-25, says that in January 1964 some Muslim goondas committed dacoity in the house of Kesur doctor and raped his wife and daughter. Muslims were harassing Hindus by forcibly reaping harvest from the lands of Hindus and troubling Hindu women. He says that through fear he left Pakistan.

Gour Nadi P.S. Vill. Kanirhowla. Sukumari Malakar, BGS-2, says that on Paush Sankranti day an armed Muslim mob attacked their Kali temple. They took the image of the holy goddess and burnt it after cutting it part by part. She says that Hindus' houses were looted and then were set on fire. All the properties of Hindus were looted. She also says that some of the miscreants went to Saha's house and abducted two girls and their sister-in-law and raped them. One of the family members protested but he was hit on the head so hard that he became senseless. The girls were injured so much that they had to take treatment for some days. She says under those circumstances it was impossible to stay in Pakistan.

Paisa. Suchitra Haladar, BGS-9, says that one night some miscreants broke open her house and entered the room where her uncle and aunt were sleeping. She says her aunt was good looking. She was abducted by the miscreants, and not yet traced. Her house was also looted. She says during that time her 3 uncles were injured.

Bashaili. Shefali Barui BGS-11, says that a group of Muslims came to attack her village on January 15, 1964. Local Muslims also joined and looted and gutted Hindu houses. They left the village and took shelter in a neighbouring village Chandhisi. After 2 days she with her husband and grand-mother started for India. She says her father-in-law, mother-in-law and a 12-year old sister-in-law were missing since January 15, 1964 and are still untraced. When she and her husband and grand-mother came to Darshana border, she was separated from them and was ravished by three miscreants. She became unconscious with pain.

Ramsiddi. Jogmaya Raha, BGS 12, refers to the attack on her village on 18th March, 1964. She says that Hindus took shelter in a bamboo thicket 2 miles off from her village. After 2 days they took shelter in a Muslim house and with his help left Pakistan.

Swarupkati P.S. Brahmankati. Gopal Mistry, BGS-16, describes the attack on his village in January last. He says that the village was attacked by a gang of about 60 Muslims. They looted Hindu properties. Three Hindu houses were set on fire. Hindus were assaulted and injured. He says that Hindus left the village and took refuge in Jalebari village and stayed there for one day. They returned home and stayed there for 3 months. "But Muslims did not like our stay there and harassed us in various ways." He says that police were also indifferent. Being frightened they left Pakistan and came to India.

Sohagdal. Nani Gopal Samaddar, BGS-17, says that his house was forcibly occupied by Khabiruddin Ahmed of the same village. He says that his shop also was forcibly occupied by another Muslim, Abdul Haqui, of the

same village. He filed a suit against the miscreants but Government took no cognisance of it. Therefore, as it was impossible to live in Pakistan, he with others left Pakistan for ever.

Pirojpur P.S. Kadamtola. Satish Chandra Roy, BPL-4, says that one night a mob of Muslims set fire to Kadamtola bazar and Sriramkati post which could be seen from his house. After this the mob raided the whole village. He, with his son aged 2 years, wife and a daughter aged 6 months began to run helter skelter. While they were running he saw Muslims catching hold of many Hindus. He could not see even his wife and daughter. She was abducted by the Muslims. Since then he did not go back to his village and came to India.

Josagola. Dhirendra Nath Mandal, BPL-2, says that one day a gang of Muslims raided his village. Hindus were frightened and tried to escape. They took shelter in a nearby house. Next morning, they again returned to their houses but the houses were looted. He says being harassed by Muslims and having everything looted by them, he left Pakistan.

Jhalakathi P.S. Srimantkati. Sukhalal Mitra. BPL-15, says that the cows of one Gopal Krishna Mullik were slaughtered by the local Muslims and the head of a cow was kept in the temple of "Hari" near the house of Mullik. He says that about 30 Muslims raided the house of Dinabandhu Bapery. When the villagers started resisting they were fired upon and 4 got injured. A student was murdered in his own house at village Bonnapara and his three brothers were injured. He left Pakistan for ever.

Vjerpur P.S. Kalbila. Bhiban Chandra Roy, BMS-26, says that his village was attacked by a gang of Muslims in April,'64. They looted Hindu houses and Hindu properties. He says that he was beaten by the miscreants and his hands were tied. They raped his wife in his own house. He also says that his two uncles were also similarly beaten and his two aunts were raped. They returned after one day. They were severely injured. He left Pakistan and came to India.

Upendra Bepari, BMS-27, says that his village was attacked by a mob of Muslims in April 1964. Hindu houses and properties were looted. He says that many girls and women were raped. His wife was also raped by two Muslims in his own house. His hands were tied

and she was forcibly taken inside the room where she was raped. She was left after 3 hours by them in half conscious condition.

Rajapore. Judhistir Howaldar, BMS-28, describes the attack in April 1964, and says that Hindu houses were looted. He was to be stabbed when he luckily escaped and ran away. He says that his wife, sister-in-law and other women were surrounded by miscreants and were raped by them mercilessly.

Bakhargunj P.S. Bhatsala. Monojendra Brahmachari, BMS-5, states that his village was raided by about 35 Muslims in the middle of January 1964. They looted Hindu houses and then burnt about 12 houses of the village. He says that his house was also burnt to ashes. He was forcibly taken away by a notorious Muslim Muzafar and was kept in a room He was threatened to be killed if he did not give all his property to him. Papers were made to that effect and he had to sign them for safety of his life. He says that he escaped and went to his pharmacy and found it looted. His wife and children had gone to his father-in-law's house. Without informing them he left Pakistan for safety. He says his wife and children also left Pakistan afterwards and came to India.

Barguna P.S. Roybhog. Witness Bhuban Mohan Hawaldar, BMS-50, says that about 60 Muslims raided his house and looted all the properties. His elder brother was killed and his sister-in-law was raped by the goondas.

He says the house of his cousin was also looted by Muslim miscreants. They also fired a shot and his cousin received a serious injury on his shoulder and narrowly escaped death. He also mentions the names of the miscreants.

Similar statements are given by the witnesses from Kasipur, Joynagar, Alta, Golakpur, Utter Charphesam, Junagarh, Larua, Raghunathpur.

PART III

CHAPTER 6

Rajsahi District: In this district there is a sizeable population of Santhals.

Nachol P. S. Alampur. Bishu Murari, RN-2, says that his village was attacked in the first week of March 1964 and the house of their headman Gururam Mahato and 3 Hindu houses were looted and burnt. Witness says that due to the bad behaviour of Muslims and insecurity to life and property he left Pakistan and came to India. Similar is the account given by witnesses RN-3 and RN-4.

Sealagram. Kalu Mahato, RN-5, says that his village was attacked in the first week of March 1964. Many Hindu houses were attacked and looted. He says that due to the insecurity of life and property, he left Pakistan.

Kinda. Sahur Munda, RN-8, says that his village was raided in the first week of March and all the Hindu houses were looted and set on fire. Witness says that, any time, Muslim goondas used to enter their houses when the male members were absent and used to dishonour female members. Under the insecure circumstances they left Pakistan.

Hakroi. Bisra Babulal, RN-14, states that Muslims came to his village and looted Hindu cattle and valuables. People who protested were killed by them with an axe. This was going on for about 10 days. Police were informed but they did nothing to stop goondas. In disgust and helplessness they left for India. He also says that 5 of his neighbours were killed and 2 injured. He also mentions the name of one of the miscreants.

Takahara. Witness RN-10, RN-11, RN-12 relate the same incident. In the month of January 1964 the house of one of the Santhals at village Karti Pur was set on fire by Muslims, and one Santhal was killed at village Khirintal.

Natore. Bijoy Krishna Das, RN-25, Jebaria, says that he had been to Natore to meet Dr. Kistopada Chatterjee

in the last week of January 1964. He says that due to the riot he had to stay in Natore in the doctor's house. He says that many Hindus were killed. He also saw that a pregnant Hindu lady's abdomen was cut opened on the street. She died. He was escorted to his village by his Muslim friends. Being panicky he left Pakistan.

Gomastapur P.S. Kashiadaya. Jetha Tudu RG-2, says that some non-Bengali Muslims attacked his village in the night. They approached police for safety but police told them that it was not safe to stay in Pakistan and advised them to leave the village immediately. As the police did not assure them of their safety they left Pakistan and came to India.

Tegharia. Majhai Tudu, RG-4, says that his village was attacked at night by about 150 Muslim miscreants, who burnt Hindu houses. They left everything behind and ran away in extreme panic. He says that 3 Santhals were killed by the miscreants. He says that Santhal families suffered a lot at the hands of Muslim goondas. He along with others left Pakistan in the darkness of night and walked all the way to reach Indian border.

Fagoo Murmu, RG-3, states that in the middle of January 1964, his house was burnt by a Muslim mob in the dead of night. His old mother was burnt to death. His daughter received severe burn injuries.

Tenon P.S. Chakrahamat. Biren Mardry, RT-5, says that his village was attacked by a mob of Muslims in the first week of March 1964. Many Santhal houses were looted and set on fire. People were harassed by reaping the harvest forcibly.

Similar statements are given by witnesses from Labdar, Dhanaidaha, Sipaipara, Kairbad, Chandpore.

PART III

CHAPTER 7

Comilla District.

P.S. Matlab P. S. Matlab Bazar is an area which is contiguous to the boundary of Distt. Dacca and is not far from Narayangunj.

Sanarpara. Subhash Chandra Sarkar, CLM-17, says that on January 15, 1964, a mob of Muslims attacked the village and burnt Hindu houses. Some Hindus tried to resist but since the mob was armed with various weapons the resistance was not of much use. Five Hindus were killed. The villagers took refuge in paddy fields and later went to a camp.

CLM-14, CLM-7 and CLM-8 also give a similar account. Witness CLM-7 mentions the name of a woman who was abducted and forcibly converted. It is also stated by CLM-14 that two children, a son and daughter of his cousin, were killed.

Sarkarpara. Tarini Chandra Mandal CLM 11, says that on the night of January 15, 1964 the village was attacked by the Muslims from the neighbouring villages who burnt all Hindu houses. One Chandra Mohan Haldar, a grand uncle was burnt to death. Witness also mentions the name of the same woman mentioned by CLM-7 as being abducted and forcibly converted.

CLM-9 and CLM-12 give the similar account.

Satnal Bagbari. Dhananjay Chandra Barman, CLM-19. **Satnal Bagbari,** also had a shop at Chandpur, Puran Bazar. He says that on the morning of January 16, 1964, a mob of Muslims attacked the shops belonging to Hindus including his own, and looted them. On January 17, 1964 he went to his village Satnal. He found that Hindu houses had been looted and burnt. In his burnt house he saw his wife lying dead with a stab wound in the abdomen and his son aged 6 and his daughter aged 2 were missing. There was not a single Hindu in the village.

Haladhar Barman, CLM-23, Satnal, says that a village was looted by a gang of Muslims. He says prior to that for years they had suffered from a complete lack of security of life and property.

CLM-25 and CLM-27 give the same account.

Joypur. Baja Hari Maujmdar, CLM-3, says that his village was attacked on January 15, 1964. Hindu houses were looted and burnt.

CLM-1 also gives the same account.

Machuakhal. Gopal Chandra Barman. CLM-24, says that local Muslims set fire to Hindu houses and looted properties with the intention to drive them out leaving behind their properties. The oppressive behaviour was beyond tolerance.

Similar is the account given by CLM-29.

Charpathila. Makhanlal Datta, CLM-5, says that the house of Ramesh Babu, a member of the Union Board, was looted. His young daughter, aged 13, was raped in the house. Some other houses were also looted. The Chairman was informed but he took no action and they took shelter in jungle nearby.

Charkhalia. Rasarai Bhakta, CLM-18, says that in the middle of January the local Muslims attacked Hindu houses, looted and burnt them.

Mathabhanga. Upendra Chandra Dhali, CLM-4, says that on January 15, 1964 his village was attacked, Hindu houses looted and burnt.

Jahirabad. Mahendra Chandra Sarkar, CLM-13, says that on January 15, 1964 the village was attacked at night and Hindu houses were looted and burnt. His cousin was killed.

Guldarpara. Harendra Chandra Sarkar, CLM-10, says that all the Hindu houses in his village were looted and Hindus had to take shelter in the jungles. He says that Muslims always threatened Hindus and asked them to leave Pakistan.

Similar account is given by CLM-15.

Borochar. Suresh Chandra Sarkar, CLM-22, says that the neighbouring village of Mathubhanga was burnt and his village was plundered. The police was informed but nothing was done. The Chairman of the U.C. also said that he could do nothing.

P.S. Narsinagar Chatalpar. Suklal Nath, CL-16, says that one day in May 1964, he was going home at night from the market by boat. The boat was attacked by armed Muslims and everything from the eight Hindus who were in the boat, was taken away. The witness was struck on the head with lathi and injured in the leg by a fishing pike. A few days after this incident, the Chairman of the U.C. put 5 Muslim families of those evicted from Assam into neighbouring houses and told the witness to leave. However, before he left for India his house was set on fire and he with his family sought shelter in a neighbouring Hindu house.

Witness has pointed out the injuries.

P. S. Homna Mithabhanga. Nabadwip Chadhra Debnath, CL-21, says that in February 1964 local Muslims looted Hindu shops in the village market and also set fire to the shops.

Srimudi Romesh Chandra Das, CL-19, says that in the middle of March 1964, hay in his courtyard was set on fire but he succeeded in putting the fire out. He says that Hindu houses in the nearby village of Bhangarchar were burnt in January 1964 and some Hindus were killed there. He went to that village and saw the burnt houses and the dead bodies. Among them were the bodies of Dr. Anukul Saha and his wife.

Bhangarchar. Sukhalal Saha, CL-18, says that on January 21, 1964 Hindu houses in the village were looted and burnt. Three persons were killed and two women abducted. Two daughters of Anukul Roy were abducted. They were rescued after 7 days.

Chandpur. P.S. Lalpur. Umesh Chandra Roy, CL-27, says that a large mob of Muslims attacked Hindu houses at night. About 10 Hindu houses were burnt and many persons were burnt to death in their houses. All Hindu houses were looted. He adds, "The Muslims were burning Hindu houses with great joy shouting 'Allah ho Akabar'."

Charsoladi. Chandra Bhushan Sarkar, CL-32, says that in January 1964, his village was attacked by Muslims and they took refuge in the jungle. Some Hindus were injured and women molested. They returned after 2 days and found everything looted.

Krishnapur. Hari Narayan Bepari, CL-33, says that in the 3rd week of May 1964, the house of Sachindra Chaial was attacked. He was injured and the house was

looted. He says that this kind of thing was going on and many Hindu houses including his own were looted. One Jatindra Sarkar was murdered on his way back from the market. Harvest used to be reaped away forcibly and cattle were lifted. Women were insulted by filthy remarks. Muslims did not pay properly for the things they bought from Hindus.

P.S. Faridunge Charmagya. Sreemati Das, CL-13, says :

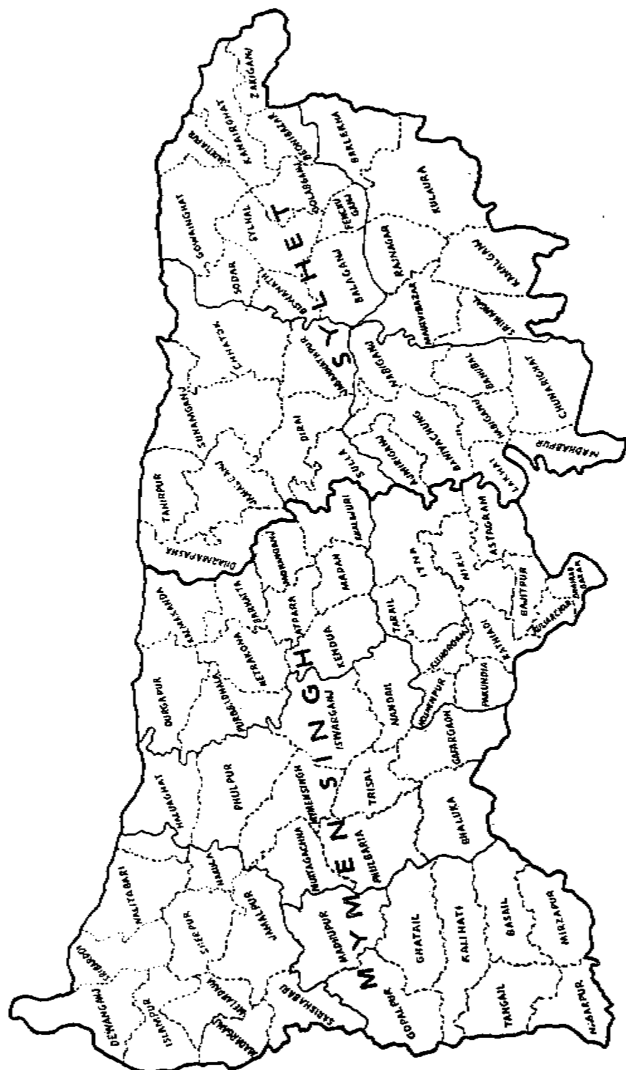
"My husband went to Chandpur to purchase stock for his shop and was returning home. He was attacked and relieved of all his cash and kind and beaten to death with a rod. My eldest son was with him who hid behind a tree and witnessed the crime. He came back and informed me of this. In the meantime the local Muslims started threatening us. Pressed the Hindu girls to marry them and to be converted to Islam. Some started taking away cattle and corn. Their early plea was that when ultimately all the Hindu properties would belong to them why should they wait and give the leaders chance to take the lion's share ? By and by it was impossible to live there so I migrated into India."

P.S. Gauripur Idala. Moudpur. Prativa Rani Rey, CL-49, says that at mid-night in the middle of January her house was attacked and the inmates ran away from the back door. When they returned next morning they found everything looted. At mid-day a crowd of Muslims had got hold of a Hindu near her house and tried to murder him. When they saw the witness and her sister-in-law, they ran after them. The witness ran to a neighbouring Muslim house but she was turned out and ultimately took shelter in the house of a member of the Union Board. She says that her brother-in-law was injured.

P.S. Kachna. Rahimnagar. Sunil Saha, CL-51, a student of Rahimnagar High School, says that at about noon he saw a mob of Muslims looting and setting fire to Hindu houses. When he got home at 3.30 p m. he found that his father, mother and a brother aged 6 had been killed.

MAP OF MYMENSINGH & SYLHET

SHOWING POLICE STATION AREAS



PART III

CHAPTER 8

MYMENSINGH DISTRICT

Rev. N.A. Kirkwood, Liaison Officer for Church World Service in his report of a survey of Garo Hills Refugee Camps, made in March, 1964 says :

> "A book could be written on the atrocities, shooting, bayoneting, baton attacks and raping inflicted by the East Pakistan Rifles and Ansar personnel of the East Pakistan border forces upon the fleeing refugees. Stories of looting and of the abduction of tribal maidens by Muslim men of the area are common. More could be written concerning reasons for the fear and insecurity which caused this mass exodus of these minority groups into the Garo Hills from this border strip of East Pakistan."

There are similar reports in the World Press ranging from Argentina to West Germany which mention the mass migration from Mymensingh District into the Garo Hills of Assam.

The southern border of Assam (India) coincides with the northern border of Mymensingh District. The northern part of Mymensingh District which is also hilly is inhabited by various tribes like Marak, Sangma and Momin, which are largely Christians. There are also the Hajongs who contain a mixture of Christians and non-Christians. There are also the Hindu tribes of Rajbansis, Kochs and Kacharis. These tribals live mostly in the hills but there are some who inhabit the plains, south of the hills.

In this area also the general insecurity had been existing for a considerable time but the large scale atrocities which began in early January in Khulna and the other southern districts and in Dacca District from January 13, 1964, spread to the district of Mymensingh in the middle of January 1964, resulting in large scale attacks on these unfortunate tribalas largely composed of Christians.

The first wave of migrants entered the Garo Hills of Assam on January 18, 1964, most of these being Christians. Soon the attention of the world became focused on this migration. The World Press reported it widely, because by the end of February 80,000 refugees had crossed into Assam. It may be mentioned here that the exodus of Christians in large numbers led some foreign correspondents to go to Tura, where the fleeing refugees were being received and housed in an improvised camp.

On February 6, 1964, a large group of about 3,000 refugees started for India. These were from villages close to the border. They were ambushed on the way and fired upon, and only 1500 managed to cross the border. Many of these injured were treated for gun-shot wounds in Tura hospital. How many of the 1500 were killed is not possible for us to determine but the witnesses who managed to cross the border on that fateful day described a large scale shooting by the Pakistani police or the East Pakistan Rifles in which many people were killed and many more were injured.

Seeing that these unfortunate people were driven out of their homes and told to leave Pakistan, it is difficult to understand why the shooting took place. It is possible, as the large scale exodus of Christians had aroused a tremendous interest in the Christian World, as reflected by the World Press, that the authorities in Pakistan wanted to stop a further exodus. And if that was the intention, it could only be achieved by stopping the harassment and the attacks on the villagers. However, that was not done and the exodus continued unabated.

It may be mentioned that the attacks which began in January 1964, were led by members of the E.P.R., the police, the Ansars and the Chairmen and Members of the Union Councils.

On February 7, 1964, the Chief Secretary of Pakistan was informed about the firing by a telegram by the Assam Government.

The Ministry of External Affairs of India presented a formal note to the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan on February 13, 1964, in which the shooting was referred to as "cold blooded murder" (column 2578, 2579, *Lok Sabha Debates, Wednesday, February 26, 1964).

The World Press also reported the reasons for this exodus.

The Observer (U. K.) **February 23, 1964,** published a despatch by James Mitchell date lined, Tura, February 22, 1964.

*House of the People, Indian Parliament.

In this despatch reference had been made to James Wood, Baptist from Lincoln, Nebraska, and Julius Downs from New York City, both missionaries who had lived in Garo Hills for more than 10 years. These two confirmed the stories of the refugees mentioned in the despatch. The despatch also mentions Father Antoni Buccieri, a Sicilian priest heading the Roman Catholic Mission in Tura*, since 1939. All these missionaries agreed that the refugees had been driven out of Pakistan.

It says :

"Once their homes and their crops have been taken" said Downs, "What else could they do ? They had to run away." Father Buccieri says most of the Roman Catholics still in the area had to be regrouped in one place, where they hope to get better protection.

Economic reasons as well as religious intolerance may have played a part in the persecution. Mymensingh District is one of the most overcrowded districts and driving out the 'foreigners' was probably a means of recovering land for the Muslims".

The Daily Sun (Australia) February 22, 1964 says :

"A Garo Baptist missionary said he and other Christian villagers from Nalitabari in Mymensingh District of East Pakistan fled into India when mobs set neighbouring villages on fire on January 19, 20 and 21, 1964."

The Sunday Telegraphs (U. K.) February 23, 1964 published following abstract from its New Delhi correspondent :

About 35,000 Pakistani Christians including children from border areas between Mymensingh in East Pakistan and the Garo Hills District of Assam have been fleeing from alleged religious intolerance for the past month".

The Globe and Mail (Canada), March 2, 1964 : refers to the despatch from Dacca which said, "Calls for 'Jehad' or holy war against infidels are being shouted."

Similarly, The Nepali, March 3, 1964, in its leading article says :

"As a result of 'Jehad' against the minorities in East Pakistan for the last two months or so, news has been coming about the flight of the afflicted people in large number as refugees."

*In Garo Hills, Assam.

We shall now deal with the evidence of a few witnesses who came in the first wave and thereafter the evidence of those who came later.

Nalitabari. P. S. Bisgiripara. Kulodini Sangma, MN-646, says that she was a widow and was staying in the village with her daughter. She says that the Muslims used to come and ask to marry her daughter with them. They used to trouble her every day and night. They took away her paddy, rice and other things. Being oppressed she left Pakistan and came to India.

Jisu Sangma. MN 648, says that Muslims used to trouble them by taking whatever they wanted without the house owner's permission. Every thing was taken in this way from their houses. He says that when he used to go out for work they used to come to his house and harass his wife and daughters. He says that the Muslim miscreants tried to abduct his daughters. They wanted to marry his daughter Kona Sangma. In order to be free from this harassment he had to pay Rs. 300/- to the miscreants,

He says that the police of Nalitabari used to go to their village and say that all the Garos were leaving Pakistan and going to India so those villagers also should move and go to India. He says as there was no alternative left he had to leave Pakistan and come to India. He crossed the border on February 8, 1964.

Ganendra Hajong, MN 651 says :

"On February 6, 1964, Muslims, Ansars, Pakistan police and E. P. R. armed with weapons entered our village, group by group, and looted our paddy, rice, cattle and other things. Then they drove us out of our houses and took our houses by force and gave them to Muslim deportees from India. After a few days, we received news that there was firing by E.P.R. on the group of people who were leaving Pakistan. Muslims and Government officers saying, "Hajongs, Garos and Dalus have no faith, they must leave Pakistan" started looting in our village and in nearby villages. Having no alternative left, we left Pakistan."

Phulchand Hajong, MN 668, says that his village is very near the Pakistan-India border. The shots were fired by E.P.R. on the people going from Pakistan to India, on 21 Magh 1370 (February 1964). Many people were injured and killed.

He says that on the same day his village was attacked by a large mob of Muslims, armed with various kind of weapons who looted everything from their houses.

Several witnesses from this village have stated that there was firing by E. P. R. on the border when the non-Muslims were crossing the border to India. Some of them are MN 642, MN 643, MN 649, MN 650, MN 652, MN 653, MN 654, MN 655, MN 666, MN 667, MN 669 and MN 670.

Deodara. Rai Mohan Sangma, MN 626 says :

"One day, on the last week of January, 1964, Haik and 2 sepoys coming to our village tried to take away my brother's (Manjur Sangh's) wife by force but failed. We brought it to the notice of the Officer-in-Charge of Hatipagar Camp. This was also reported to Officer-in-Charge of Nalitabari P. S., but no action was taken.

On February 6, 1964, the East Pakistan Rifles, assisted by a large number of Muslims armed with guns, lathis and other weapons, fired on the people who were crossing the border at about 4 p. m. I personally witnessed this incident. An injured person named Nisal Patheng went to our village for shelter and he reported that due to firing about 2 hundred refugees were killed."

Bimini Marak MN 630, a woman of 40, says that the Muslims along with E.P.R. came to her village and tortured them and looted all their things.

Similar stories of harassment by E.P.R. Hatipagar camp, were given by MN 631, MN 632, MN 633, MN 634, MN 635. MN 636, MN 637, MN 638, MN 639 and MN 640.

Kakorkandi. Rejot Sangma, MN 760, says :

"On February 6, 1964, the Ansars set up their camp in the middle of our village and other Muslims also came and joined them. At last, when they were in a very large number they began to loot our houses continually.

After that on the same day at about 3 p. m., when we started for India because of their unbearable oppression, the East Pakistan Rifles fired on us without any warning at the Pakistan border. As a result, my father-in-law died along with many people and many were injured.

Sridam Dio, MN 761, says :

"On February 6, 1964 a party of Ansars set up a camp in front of my house under the pretext of helping

us. Local Muslims joined them and when they became large in number, they began to loot our houses and took away all the properties of our houses.

Being harassed, we started for India on the same day. At the border we were fired upon by the E.P.R. Many people died and many were injured. I was also injured."

Probendra Raksam, MN 762, gives the similar account of firing on the border and says that he himself was injured in the firing.

Janendra Ruram, MN 763, also describes the incident of looting the houses in his village by Ansars and local Muslims on February 6, 1964 and says that when they were leaving Pakistan for India on the border, shots were fired by E. P. R. and many people were injured and died. He says that his mother-in-law also died.

Khetro Marak, MN-764, describes the similar story and says his father-in-law was injured in border firing.

Ramchandra Sangma, MN 765, says that during the firing by E.P.R. at the border many people were killed and injured. His father-in-law was also injured.

Several witnesses have stated that the shots were fired by E.P.R. and Ansars at the border when the people who were harassed and driven out by the Muslims, were crossing the border and coming to India. We are giving some of the numbers. They are MN 766, MN 767, MN 768, MN 769, MN 770, MN 771, MN 772. MN 773, MN 774, MN 775, MN 776, MN 777, MN 778, MN 780, MN 781, MN 782, MN 783, MN 784, MN 785, MN 786, MN 787, MN 788, MN 789, and MN 790.

Several other witnesses have described the looting of Kakorkandi, Jayramkura and Gobrakura villages in the month of April, 1964. They are MN 748, MN 753, MN 754, MN 755, MN 756, MN 757, MN 758, MN 759, MN 774, MN 775, MN 776, and MN 777.

Kalakuma: In this village the majority of the people are Garo Christians.

Maru Marak, MN 1015, says that the E.P.R. always troubled them in various ways. They used to impose heavy work on the villagers and used to pay very little. He says that Morzina Rechil, daughter of Suven Sangma, was raped by the Havaldar, Asfan Ali of the E.P.R. Ramchandra Kura B.O.P. Camp. Suven

Sangma, her father, appealed to the court for justice but with no result. He also mentions that Suruni Mankin, daughter of Mialy Marak, was raped by Abdul Joban.

Atom Marak, MN-1016, gives the same case of rape of Suruni Mankin. He says that she was a close relation of his ; so he informed the Chairman, U.C. of Nalitabari but no result came out of it.

Naga Charan Marak MN-1018, describes the same incident of rape. He also says that Md. Soban of Kalakuma asked Gobindo Deo to vote for his friend in Union Council election. Gobindo Deo refused, so he was tortured by the Muslims.

Mialy Sangma (Marak), MN-1019, father of Surini Mankin and Dina Marak and MN-1024, grandfather of the girls, give the same story of the rape.

Roykhan Marak, MN-1021, says that Md. Meer Bux of Nalitabari tried to abduct his sister Chinmoy Marak by force. When witness resisted he was attacked with a knife and injured. He says this happened in September, 1963.

He says that he had purchased a piece of land from R/C Jamalpur Sub-division. All the legal documents showing his ownership of the land were with him. But a Muslim, Md. Ramzan Ali, belonging to Noakhali and staying at Kalakumat, took the land forcibly. When witness started to plough the land, he, along with many other Muslims threatened him and told him by showing weapons like ramdew, spears and lathis that they would kill him if he would insist on possessing the land. He filed a suit in Jamalpur S.D.O. Court. But S.D.O. replied that there was no law for border areas. The witness complained to the Chairman, Union Council but he also took the side of Muslims and refused to judge his case. Being oppressed he left his village with other villagers and crossed the border on February 5, 1964.

Similar acts of taking of land by force and indifference of E. P R. and Union Council Chairman is described by MN-1022.

Samuel Marak, MN-1205, says that he stood for Union Council membership election. His rival party with the help of E.P.R. Ramchandrakura and Hatipagar Camps put up a false case against him and harassed him. He says that local Muslims used to cut bamboos, grass and crop from his field and E.P.R. of Hatipagar and Ramchandrakura Camps used to encourage them by standing beside the miscreants.

Similar are the statements given by MN-1017, MN-1026, MN-1027 and MN-1020.

Mayagachi. Melson Marak, MN-1, names a Muslim who had been forcibly cultivating some part of his land and that though he complained to the U.C. Chairman, no action was taken. Many a time when Muslims cut wood from the forest the innocent non-Muslim villagers were charged by the police for illegally cutting it. When girls were abducted from the village, complaints to the police and the C.O., E.P.R. proved fruitless. There used to be looting and burning of some houses and Muslims used to tell them to leave Pakistan. On the way near the border whatever he had, was snatched away.

Salin Gagra, MN-2, says that Muslims used to go to his house and take whatever they liked including Bamboos from his land.

Sailesh Marak, MN-4, says : "Muslims who had come from India came to my house and asked for rice, paddy, vegetables etc. But I could not give them what they wanted, so they entered our houses and took away everything they liked leaving nothing. They were in large numbers and E.P.R. and neighbouring Muslims joined them in the loot. E.P.R. used to come to my house and ask for drinks, eggs, poultry, goats etc. but whenever I refused I was beaten up. A member of the E.P.R. raped my sister." He has mentioned the names of some of the assailants. "On January 24, 1964, the neighbouring Muslims and some E. P. R. drove me, with my family, out of my house. On January 25, 1964, we crossed the border through Dalu."

Mingan Marak, MN-5, says : "One night in January some Muslims and some E.P.R. forcibly entered my house and plundered everything. My husband was shot dead and I was beaten up. They also snatched away my daughter."

Jonil Sangma, **MN-7**, says: "Some E. P. R. from Ramchandrakura Camp used to come to the village and harass us in many ways. One day they came and drove me out of my house and beat me up."

Dinesh Sangma, MN-8, says, "Local Muslims with police used to come to my house since November 1963 and take my cattle, goats, paddy etc. by force. They also damaged my garden, crops. They threatened me to leave Pakistan because Pakistan was not for non-Muslims. If I did not leave Pakistan they would kill me."

Satish Sangma MN-16, says that some Muslims wanted to take away his wife when he was in the bazar but he prevented it. So large number of Muslims came and looted everything that he had.

Jatindra Marak, MN-17, says that one day when he was out for work, one policeman from Ramchandrakura Camp came and raped his wife. Later on they looted everything from him and told him to leave Pakistan.

Mayagachi. Birendra Hajong, **MN-64**, says : "On February 4, 1964, the deportees, other Muslims and the police joined together and fired on the Hindus. Many Hindus were killed and injured. Thereafter at 4 p m. Muslims of other villages also joined and looted everything in the village."

Similar is the account given by MN-65, MN-66, MN-67, MN-68, MN-69, MN-70, MN-71 and MN-72.

Nalkura. Maheshwar Hajong, MN-88, says : "In the first week of January 1964, the Muslims of our village and other villages harvested crops from the fields by force. When the harvesting was finished, the Muslims would come from house to house and door to door to buy paddy. They would snatch our paddy without paying any money. After some days the Muslims of our village attacked our village by day and snatched away our cattle and looted our houses. If we tried to prevent them from looting our houses, they would attack us with ramdew and spears. Some of the Muslims threatened us to kill if we would not leave our houses. Therefore, out of fear, we left Pakistan on the 19th January, 1964."

This witness and other witnesses from the village reached India on January 19, 1964. Those others who numbers we give are MN-87, MN-89, MN-90, MN-92, MN-93, MN-94, MN-95: MN-96, MN-97, MN-100, MN-103, MN-104, MN-105, MN-106 and MN-107.

There seems to have been a similar attack in the last week of January 1964 and the witnesses who reached on February 5, 1964 gave an account of what happened.

"In the month of January, 1964, the local Muslims harvested our ripe crops from the fields by force. Some Muslims snatched our paddy from the farms. When I prevented them from snatching my paddy, they hit me on my head. The Muslims of Bangawn, Salchura and Nalkura attacked our village suddenly at mid-day and

began to snatch our cattle from the fields. They also plundered every house of our village. The Muslims threatened us and ordered to leave Pakistan. Therefore, out of fear, we left Pakistan on February 5, 1964."

Similar account is given by MN 101, MN 102, MN 98 and MN 91.

Tantar, Mahendra Chandra Hajong, MN 109, says :

"On 8th January, at night, Muslims set on fire some of the houses in the village. Next day during the day they attacked the village. They were armed. They plundered paddy, cattle and our household goods."

Similar account is given by MN 110, MN 111, MN 112, MN 113, MN 114, and MN 115.

All these reached India on January 9, 1964.

Sonaru Mohan Sarkar, MN 108, says :

"Muslims attacked the village on March 9, 1964 and looted paddy, cattle, cash and whatever we had. Some houses were also burnt. Prior to this they used to reap paddy from our fields and used to ask us to leave Pakistan as Muslims had been driven out by Indian Government. You have no faith. You are enemies of Muslims. You must be driven out from Pakistan."

Defli. This village is very near the border.

Baman Hajong, MN-140, says :

"Muslims from my village and other villages, Ansars as well as some E.P.R. led by Abu Harij, the Chairman, Gauripur Nalkura U. C., attacked my house on January 9, 1964 and looted everything. They did this in other houses also."

Similar account is given by MN 134, MN 135, MN 132 and MN 133.

Samant Chandra Hajong, MN-141, says :

"The Local Muslims and the deportees led by Abu Harij, the Chairman of U. C., Gauripur No. 2 along with Ansars attacked my house on January 21 and looted all my properties. The previous day I had taken my paddy to the market, which was taken away by Muslims. There were several other non-Muslims in the market whose paddy was similarly taken away."

Similar account is given by MN 128, MN 131, MN 137 and MN 152.

Several other witnesses have mentioned the attack and plunder of their houses of January 19 and 21, 1964. These are MN 116, MN 117, MN 119, MN 120 MN 121, MN 122, MN 123, MN 124, MN 125, MN 127, MN 128, MN 129, MN 130, MN, 136, MN 138, MN 142, MN 143, MN 144, MN 145 MN 147, MN 148, MN 149, MN 150, MN 151, MN 153, MN 154, MN 155, MN 156, MN 157, MN 158 and MN 159.

Several witnesses have also given account of similar attacks in February : MN 126, MN 139, MN 404 and MN 405.

Burunga. Nacharu Haiong, MN 160, says that his house, along with other houses, was attacked under the leadership of Abdul Hamid, Chairman Paragaon, U. C. No. 8. They looted the properties.

Karnamohan Koch, MN-162, says that the police from Boromari Camp would take the people from the village for forced labour in the camp. They would also extort money. In the last week of January, Muslims from the nearby villages attacked the village at night and after looting everything set fire to the houses.

Similar is the statement of MN 163.

Bharua, Similar accounts of assaults in the last week of January 1964 are given by MN 164, MN 165, MN 166, MN 167, MN 168, MN 169, MN 170, MN 171 and MN 172. Some of them mention that Harshu-uddin, Chairman of Bangaon was one of the attackers. They all say that they were told to leave Pakistan on the threat of being killed.

Kayarakuri. Witnesses from this village describe an attack on the village on January 23, 1964.

Fakrabad. Kartik Chandra Hajong, MN 185, says : "From December 1963 the deportees from India started evicting us from our houses. They used to cut our harvest and rob us of our goods. Then came the terrible days of January 17, 18 and 19 when they attacked our village along with local Muslims and E.P.R. The E.P.R. told the villagers to leave Pakistan."

Similar is the story of MN 191, MN 192, MN, 193, MN 197, MN 198, MN 199, MN 200, MN 201, MN 204 MN 205 MN 206, MN 207 and many others.

Durjyodhan Koch, MN 186, says :

"In December 1963, I was in my field when policemen from Haldigram border camp arrested me. I was set

free when my father paid Rs. 250-/. In the Last week o January 1964, my house was looted and everything was taken away. This was happening throughout my area."

Similar is the story of MN-190 and some others.

Raimohan Koch, MN-187, says that his house was attacked on February 6, 1964. This was led by an officer of the Haldigram border camp when everything was looted. The officer himself took away two cows.

Garokanda. Anand Koch, MN-220, says that he constructed a new house and occupied it in October 1963. The Jamadar of Haldigram Police Camp asked the Muslims to occupy his old house. When he tried to prevent this the Jamadar beat him up and arrested him. He had to pay Rs. 400/- to get himself released.

In January 1964 Muslims set fire to his house and took away his paddy cattle and whatever he had. This happened to various people in the village.

Sadhanananda Koch, MN-219, says that in October 1963 Muslims of our village and other Muslims set fire to my house and looted everything including cooking utensils. A Muslim called Taher Ali forcibly occupied my land and when I tried to remove him with the help of my neighbours we were attacked with spears, ramdew and sticks.

In January 1964 Muslims of the village along with police and Ansars started looting non-Muslim houses. They threatened us to leave Pakistan.

According to MN-227, MN-228, MN-229 and MN-231 Simalatala was burnt in the month of February or March, 1964. They give the names of various persons who took prominent part in the burning.

Prabhat Chandra Barman, MN-235, says that the temple of Kali was looted and idol was broken in January 1964. Houses of several persons were also burnt. He also mentions various nearby villages which were looted by Muslims. He says that this was done by the Chairman of U.C. along with others.

Similar is the account given by MN-237, MN-238, MN-239 and MN-240.

Napal Chandra Singh, MN-248, MN-242, MN-243, MN-244 and MN-245, mention the burning of Simalatala and other villages. They also give the name of one

woman who was taken away from her house one night but she managed to run away after several days.

Karnadhar Katria, MN-249, says that a police officer of Nalitabari Thana entered the house of a person, he has named, and molested his wife.

Similar is the statement of MN-250 and MN-241.

Dinesh Chandra Singha, MN-252, mentions the looting in this village.

Dhansail. Dhananjay Hajong, MN-264, says that on January 1964 his village was attacked by Muslims armed with ramdew and sticks. They looted his house and took away furniture and paddy. He says that they requested the Chairman, U.C. to protect them but he was indifferent.

Jaldhar Hajong, MN-270, says: "In the second week of January, 1964, the Muslims of Halgara, P. S. Sombogan], attacked my house at midnight and entered my house by force. Some of the Muslims seized me and the others abducted my daughter Sumani Hazong, aged 11 years. When she cried loudly my villagers came to help her but the assailants carried her away quickly.

In the next morning, I asked the police officer to look for my daughter but the Muslims threatened me and asked to leave Pakistan. So I left Pakistan out of fear on the 20th January 1964."

Similar attack by Muslims on January 19, 1964 is described by MN-261 and MN-262.

Girish Hajong, MN-275, says that the village was attacked by a large number of Muslims on January 20, 1964. The miscreants ordered them to leave Pakistan and threatened that they would kill them. Being frightened, they left Pakistan.

Similar account is given by MN-272, MN-273, MN-274, MN-276, MN-263, MN-265, MN-267 and MN-268.

Pushpabala Hajong, MN-271, says: "The local Muslims along with the Chairman of Gauripur Union Council No. 2, Muslim deportees from India and Ansars armed with weapons entered my house on January 21, 1964. They looted all my property. All minority houses were looted by the miscreants."

Witness MN-280, MN-281, MN-277, MN-278 and MN-279 refer to the similar attacks made in the month of February

and March 1964 and the houses looted and burnt in Dayarpar, Kandulia, Bhotpur, Pagriapara, Aynapur Halgar.

Many other witnesses also describe the looting in this village. They are MN-407, MN-408, MN-259, MN-260, MN-286 and MN-287.

Andharu Para. Hirendra Chandra Hajong MN-296, says that the local Muslims, along with Md. Abdul Hamid, Chairman Paragaon U. C. No. 8, neighbouring Muslims, Ansars and deportees from India, armed with weapons entered his house on February 8, 1964. They looted all his movable property. Being helpless he had to come to India.

Similar stories of looting of houses on February 8, 1964 are given by MN-297, MN-298, MN-299, MN-300, MN-301. MN-302, MN-303, MN-304, MN-305, MN-306, MN-307, MN-308 and MN-309.

Lankeshwar Hajong, MN-288, says that local Muslims and Muslims from neighbouring villages, Ansars and E.P.R. suddenly attacked his village on February 9, 1964 and looted his house. All his movable properties were taken away. He says that while he was coming to India he was searched by E.P.R. at the border and Rs. 50/- were taken away by them.

Similar story is stated by MN-289, MN-290, MN-291, MN-292, MN-293, MN-294 and MN-295.

Michael Marak, MN-310, says: "E.P.R. camp of Baramari is very near our village. The E.P.R. used to come to my house and order me to work in their camp. When I denied to carry out their orders they beat me severely. We were not allowed to graze our cattle in the jungle. Though the permission was taken from the authorities, we were not allowed to take fire-wood. Even the cutting of bamboos and trees from our own gardens was forbidden by the forest guards."

He says that one day he was driven out of his house by Bishu Kamashiek and other Muslims. He had to leave Pakistan on February 9, 1964.

Similar stories of harassment and looting of houses are told by MN-311, MN-312. MN-313, MN-314, MN-315, MN-316, MN-317, MN-318, MN-319, MN-320, MN-321, MN-322, MN-323 and many others.

Bongoan. Surendra Chandra Khatrio, MN-344, says that his village was looted by the Muslims in the month of February 1964. He has given the names of the miscreants. He has also mentioned the name of a girl aged 14, who was abducted by some Muslim miscreants (names given). She was raped and was returned after 8 days. The complaint was lodged against the miscreants at Serpur Thana but no action was taken.

Similar account is given by MN-345, MN-346 and MN-351.

Witnesses MN-347, MN-348, MN-349 and MN-350 also describe the same incidents as above and say that Bongoan village was looted and burnt in March, 1964. This attack and the looting of the houses in March, 1964 are also described by MN-353, MN-354 and MN-355.

Meshkura. Sonu Sangma, MN-26, says that the police used to harass him in various ways and so did the deportees from India, who one day forcibly took away his daughter aged 14 and another woman (name given).

Vidya Sangma, MN-34, says: "Muslim deportees used to come to the village and take away paddy, rice, vegetables etc. from my garden without paying me. If I resisted they would beat me. They grazed their cattle in my paddy field and destroyed our paddy seedlings. Molina, a girl of 10, was raped."

Hatipagar. Abhayacharan Adhikari, MN-48, says: "On 24 Magh 1370 at 3 p.m. about 200 Muslims attacked the village and looted all the movable property. We were driven out of our houses. Before this, paddy was forcibly reaped from my field. I informed the Chairman but without any result."

Similar is the statement of MN-49.

Sanko Sangma, MN-51, says that his daughter aged 15 was raped.

Husendra Marak, MN-59, says: "Muslims used to come to the village and under threats took away whatever they liked. Ramzan Ali, member U.C. took away from him large number of bundles of Bamboos without payment. He mentions the names of two girls in the village who were taken away by the police to their camp and raped."

Number of other witnesses mention the bullying by the Muslims and the police who made their lives impossible. They have also said that whatever the Muslims or the police wanted they took away by force.

Ginik Marak, MN-62, says: "Police came to our village and created disturbance. They robbed me and cut my bamboos."

Nalitabari. Gangadhar Paul, MN-79, says: "Since February 1964 looting in the village by Muslims was going on. This continued in March when several villages viz., Nalitabari Nichpara, Simalatala, Jangalia Kanda and others were burnt by Muslims of Nalitabari Nichpara."

He gives the names of the leaders of these attacks.

Nirod Baran Paul, MN-80, gives a similar account and mentions the name of one person who was seriously injured.

Similar are the statements of MN-81 and MN-82.

Witnesses MN-83 and MN-84 give the names of two persons whose houses were burnt.

Tarini. Pora Mohan Banai, MN-367, says that on January 21, 1964, Muslims, along with police and Ansars, attacked the village with guns and looted the village. He says that he left on the same day and crossed the border on the same day as the village was very close.

Similar are the statements of MN-369, MN-370 and MN-366.

Baisnab Chandra Banai, MN-371, says that in the afternoon of January 24, 1964, his village was attacked by armed Muslims who looted everything which compelled him to leave. He also says that the police used to exact forced labour from him and other villagers and that they were told by the police and Ansars to leave Pakistan because it belonged only to the Muslims.

Similar are the statements of several other witnesses e.g., MN-257 to MN-365 and MN-372 to MN-376.

Tarini Kant Banai, MN-377, says that on February 6, 1964 there was an attack by armed Muslims along with E. P. R. of Kalakuma Camp and Muslims from neighbouring villages. They looted everything in his house. He, therefore, crossed over to India.

Similar are the statements of MN-378 and MN-380.

Jogesh Chandra Banai, MN-379, describes a similar attack on his house on February 9, 1964.

Paiktola. Dhirendra Dalu, MN-385, says that armed Muslims attacked his village and looted his and the houses of others on February 5, 1964.

Similar are the statements of MN-382, MN-383 and MN-384.

MN-386 and MN-387 say that their houses were attacked in the month of March, 1964.

Panihati. Kumbha Bania, MN-397, says that on January 24, 1964, his village was attacked by Ansars and other Muslims. They looted the houses, dragged the inmates out and asked them to leave Pakistan.

Similar are the statements of MN-398, MN-400, MN-401, MN-402, MN-403 and MN-391.

Several witnesses described the attack on February 6, 1964 on their village which compelled them to leave Pakistan. They are MN-388 to MN-390, MN-392 to MN-396.

We have dealt with statements of witnesses from several villages in P. S. Nalitabari. We do not propose to deal in detail with other statements from this P. S., which run into a few hundred more. We shall only say that the accounts given are similar to the ones we have dealt with and that it appears from the statements that the attacks, which started from the third week of January, continued till this P. S. was practically cleared of non-Muslims. Practically all the witnesses say that the police and the Ansars took a leading part in these attacks. Many of them also name the Chairmen of various Union Councils who also joined in the attacks and the plunder and that there was no protection from any authority. It is also stated by witnesses that the police, the Ansars and the Chairmen of Union Councils all joined in telling these people to clear out of Pakistan.

In the statements with which we have dealt we have not mentioned the harassment including the snatching away of money or whatever other valuables they might be carrying on their way to India, by the border police, because, practically every one has said that, this happened to him or her.

These witnesses have also described the incidents of harassment like reaping their harvest, cattle-lifting, grazing of cattles in the fields of non-Muslims, forced labour, non-payment of proper price of the commodities taken by Muslims including the police and the Ansars. Many have also stated that they were asked to convert themselves to Islam if they wanted to stay in Pakistan. Some of them have stated that the Muslims used to demand their women and on occasions they used to abduct these women.

We shall, therefore, give the names only of the villages from which the witnesses have been examined. These are Kandali, Ghagra, Batkuchi, Duhalia, Duphuria, Mandoliapara, Banakali, Debipur, Boibadha Salchura, Baka Kura, Dawa Kura, Dudh Kura, Baghicharpara, Bakugaon, Hatibandha, Khangsa, Rongtia, Ramchandra Kura, Nunni, Halgara, Bikikura, Kapasia, Koragram Gandigaon, Chakpara, Ainapur, Paitakandi, Noksi, Somachara, Jugania, Baghbar, Bhatpur, Janaigati, Gerapasha, Bedlakura, Khalbanga. Solmara, Simlatala, Kalakuma.

Haluaghat P. S. Gobrakura. Birendra Rechil, MH-92, says: "The local Muslims along with Chairman U. C. and several E. P. Rs. and other Muslims attacked mine and neighbouring houses on January 7, 1964. They looted everything from the houses of Hindus and Christians. Many from this village reached India on the same day."

Similar are the accounts given by MH-93, MH-94, MH-95 and MH-21.

Balok Sangma, MH-62, describes the oppressions that he, his father-in-law and others in his village had been subjected to at the hands of the police. He also says that off and on a Moulvi would come and ask them to get converted. On January 21, 1964, there was an attack by a few hundred Muslims along with the E. P. R. of Karaitali B.O.P. Many persons including this witness, his old father-in-law and his wife were injured. His father-in-law had to be treated in the hospital.

Pancha Bazi MH-63 gives the similar account of the attack on that day and says that he and his wife were injured. He says that he filed a complaint against the miscreants including Mahmmad Abdul Jalil, a member of the Legislative Assembly but nothing was done and he left Pakistan next week.

Similar are the statements of MH-64.

On January 22, 1964, there was a further attack by Muslims along with police and Ansars. This is mentioned by Pokaranu Banai, MH-18, MH-19, MH-71, MH-72, MH-74, MH-75, MH-76. MH-79, MH-80, MH-81, MH-82, MH-83, MH-84, MH-85, MH-87, MH-89, MH-90, MH-99 and others.

Darbin Sangma, MH-100, says that he and others were attacked in the last week of January by Muslims, E.P.R., B.O.P., Selatoli and everything they had was looted. This attackers were shouting. "Quit Pakistan. It is not for Garo Christians." After the attackers left the E. P. R came and drove him out of his house. He was also beaten. He also mentions the name of a woman who was raped by a member of E. P. R.

Similar are the statements of MH-36, MH-38, MH-39 and MH-98.

Many of these witnesses and members of their families were injured.

Jointa Mrong, MH 44, a young girl of 14 says that her house was attacked by E.P.R. of Ailatoli B.O.P. This was in the first week of February 1964. The attackers asked them to leave Pakistan. She mentions that one day when she had gone to attend church, she was caught hold of and taken to the camp where she was raped by Md. Kasim.

The attack in the first week of February 1964 is also mentioned by MH 41, MH 43, MH 47, MH 48 and MH 49.

Umesh Dopo, MH 50, says that on February 6, 1964 the E.P.R. from Ailatoli B.O.P. came and attacked and drove him out of his house. They were telling non-Muslims "The Government of Pakistan is going to drive you out to make room for newly arrived refugees. Sooner you quit the better."

Similar are the statements of MH 51, MH 52, MH 53, MH 54, MH 55, MH 56, MH 70 and others who described the attacks on various dates from February 3, 1964 till about 2 weeks thereafter.

Many of these witnesses have described the various acts of persecution, rape on women and looting of paddy, cattle etc. and forced labour in the police camps, even prior to the large scale attacks. They all say that during the attacks they were told to leave Pakistan. They also mention the leading part played by the E.P.R. of Ailatoli.

There were attacks also in the month of March and April.

Bhutiapara. This is a village which is also close to the Ailatoli B.O.P. camp. Witnesses from this village describe the conditions prior to the large scale attacks similar to those described earlier. The attacks on this village began in the first week of January 1964 and went on till the end of February, by which time practically everybody from the village had crossed over into India. We shall only give the numbers of some of the witnesses. MH 104, MH 105, MH 106, MH 107, MH 108, MH 109, MH 116, MH 117, MH 118, MH 123, MH 125, MH 126, MH 132, MH 134, MH 136, MH 137, MH 139, MH 140, MH 141, MH 142, and MH 146.

Kotchukura. This village is situated close to the border. Most of the witnessses from this village arrived in India between February 4 and February 12, 1964. We shall give 2 or 3 statements and give the numbers of the rest.

Nosor Sangma, MH-147, says:

"For a long time we had been persecuted in various ways by the local Muslims, the border police and the Ansars. But the climax of persecution reached in the end of February and continued for four days, when the armed muslims from far and near along with the police and Ansars created large scale disturbances and looted paddy, rice and other household things. Those of us who resisted were badly beaten up. The assailants were saying "Pakistan is not yours, you must go to India. If you wish to live in Pakistan, you must embrace Islam."

He gives the names of his two nieces who were both raped. Both of them were forcibly converted and forced to marry Muslims.

Suresh Rema, MH-148, also gives the similar account in which all his properties were looted and he was compelled to leave.

Sabania Rema, MH 149, says:

"The present disturbances broke out in our village in the end of February 1964, when Muslims from neighbouring villages along with police Bandarghata camp attacked the village and looted mine and other houses. This went on for a few hours during the day. They came again after sun set and burnt my house. We had no security and justice in Pakistan."

He gives the names of two of his sisters who were raped and then converted to Islam and forced to marry Muslims.

Other witnesses who describe the attack in statements similar to last two witnesses are MH-150 to MH-213.

Askipara. Joysingh Sangma, MH-215, says :
"In 1962 a case was filed against one Mahammud Maijuddin for the abduction of the sister of one Nallamoni. When I gave evidence in that case Maijuddin along with a few others attacked me and beat me mercilessly.

On January 24, 1964, Mahammud Nuru E. P. R., along with a large number of Muslims came to my house and asked me to leave Pakistan. I was a murol (a leading person) in the village. When I refused to leave, myself and all the members of my family were driven out of the house. They looted all my properties."

Golsona Sangma, MH-216, says :

"When Mahammud Ansar Ali, a Muslim refugee of Amkuakura, robbed me of my household things, I complained but no action was taken.

The E.P.R. of Telekhali camp used to say that Garo Christians should leave Pakistan and if they do not they will be driven out by force.

E. P. R. forced us to work in their camp without payment. They used to take away our women. My wife was raped by the police."

Atho Sangma, MH-220, Chaukidar of the village, says :

"Nuru E.P.R. wanted to marry my daughter but when I refused he beat me up. I was also asked by the police to procure women for them. I was also asked by the police to leave Pakistan."

Many witnesses from this village describe the day to day harassment in the shape of thefts of their property and abduction of their women as also an organised attack about the January 20, 1964. These are MH-222 to MH-240. Many of them name Nuru of E.P.R. as the ringleader.

Jaljulia. Witnesses from this village MH 241 to MH 252 describe how almost every day Muslims used to come and take away whatever they wanted. Ultimately they were driven out sometime in February 1964.

Dummikura. Bibhishan Taju, MH-261, says that the people from this village were harassed by E. P. R. of Borak B. O. P. and other Muslims. "The E. P. R. were all in the border area. They whipped villagers without any reason. They wanted free labour and free ration. In the month of February 1964, the E.P.R. along with large number of Muslims looted everything in the village, set fire to some houses and drove the villagers out.

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Similar are the statements of MH 260, MH 262 to MH 283.

Bharoliokona. Witnesses from this village describe the attack on this village by a large mob of Muslims on February 5, 1964, when they looted the village and drove out the people from this village. These are MH 353 to MH 365.

Chandrakona. Jainath Marak, MH-407, says that about 70 houses in this village and Keshipara were burnt by mobs of Muslims in February 1964. The witness says:

"E. P.R., Ansars and Muslims used to harass us day and night. We were made to work without payment and our women were raped. Muslims used to harvest our paddy and take away whatever they liked."

Similar are the statements of MH 406, MH 408 and MH 409.

Ghoseber. Saban Dalu, MH-430, says that on January 7, 1964 many houses in the village were looted.

Similar are the statements of MH 431 to MH 436.

Riday Dalu, MH-419, says:

"In the first week of February 1964, the village was attacked by the Muslims. They entered my house and started taking away my cattle. When I resisted they threatened to kill me and to take away the womenfolk. We ran away, took shelter in the Haluaghat Bazar for a day and ultimately came to India."

Bibhuti Bhushan Sarkar, MH-420, says:

"On February 4, 1964, the Muslims of Bhikipara and Nayarikura took away our cattle from the field. I went to prevent them but they attacked my house and took everything. Ruhul Amin, Chairman U.C. No. 2 of Jingh, told me that if I did not leave he would kill me. We ran away and took shelter for two days in the Baptist mission of Jayaramkura and after two days left Pakistan."

Biswanath Sangma, MH 451, says that the harassment by the police and the Muslims started from November 1963. They used to come and take away whatever they liked and ultimately early in February 1964, they threatened us and told us to leave Pakistan, because Pakistan was not for Non-Muslims.

Similar are the statements of MH 423 to MH 429.

Portin Sangma, MH 441, says that in the middle of 1963, many houses in Jayaramkura were set on fire by

Muslims. He also mentions several cases in January and February 1964 when many houses in his village were looted and there was a large scale attack on February 4, 1964, which compelled most of the Non-Muslims to leave.

Numerous other witnesses have given similar statements. Some of these are MH 411 to MH 418, MH 443 to MH 450.

Ghoshgaon. Suresh Chandra Khatrio, MH 465, says:

"Often Muslims would come to my village and threaten me and others and order that we should leave Pakistan and they used to harass us in many ways like destroying our crops, taking away bamboos, fruit etc. Our women could not move freely."

Similar is the account given by MH 462, MH 463 and MH 466.

Gobrakhali. Nimdas Banai, MH 467, says:

"The E.P.R. used to force us to supply food-grains free to the deportees from India. These people used to put their cattle to graze in our fields and often harvested paddy from our fields. They used to take away our cattle and goats. In the month of February, along with the police, these people set fire to our village. When we found no shelter because of our burnt houses and no means of livelihood we were compelled to leave Pakistan. This happened about the end of February 1964."

Similar is the account given by MH 468 to MH 473.

Dhakiapara. This village is about a mile from the Indian border.

Surendra Bazi, MH 486, says

"The Muslims used to come and extort money from us on various occasions. Some time in the month of February, they attacked my house and looted everything including my cattle. They did the same thing in many houses in the village. The E.P.R. had also joined the attackers."

Similar is the account given by MH 487.

Kangalia Marak, MH 504, says:

"Our village was attacked on February 5, 1964 by local Muslims and Ansars who were armed. They started looting our properties. The Garo 'choukidar' ran to the E.P.R. camp at Bandarkata. Six of the police came

with him and instead of protecting us joined the attackers and started looting. They also extorted some money and forced us out of the village."

Similar is the account given by MH 489 to MH 503, MH 505 to MH 510.

Baligaon. Kanai Rechil, MH 514, says:

"In February 1964, armed Muslim mob attacked my house and other houses in the village. They looted every thing and drove us out of our village. Even before this the police used to come and get drunk in our village and ask for our women. This had been going on for a considerable time."

Ramesh Chicham, MH-516, says:

"The local Muslims armed with swords, lathis etc. attacked our village. I was badly injured and fell down unconscious. They looted everything in the village and drove us out.

Similar are the statements of MH 512, MH 515, MH 527, MH 530 and MH 518.

Butu Sangma, MH-529, says:

"On March 15, 1964, a large mob of Muslims accompanied by Ansars came to our village at night, shouting 'get out of Pakistan or we will kill you.' Some of the assailants were my neighbours, who had been very friendly to me and I ran to some of them for help but they turned a deaf ear. I was very badly injured. My neighbour was raped."

Ghilabhoi. Pabitra Hajong, MH-581, says:

"I was a priest of a temple. There were many trees around the temple and Muslims cut them down and set fire to the temple. Thereafter I rebuilt the temple but they broke it again. They also occupied the lands belonging to the temple. In February 1964, the village was attacked by Muslims, the police and the Ansars. They were shouting, "Leave Pakistan. If you want to remain, embrace Islam." They looted all the houses and took away rice, cattle and everything else. We had to leave Pakistan."

Similar are the statements of about 30 other witnesses.

Ajlatoli. This village is very near the border and the people suffered ill-treatment and extortion by the police, as has been mentioned in the earlier statements by several witnesses from nearby villages.

Rameshwar Sangma, MH-609, says:

"One night in January, 1964, the E. P. R. from Ajlatoli camp arrested 12 persons from my village, including myself, and took us to the camp. We were only let off after we paid Rs. 300/- each. One Kuken Marak had no money. He was badly beaten and subjected to unnatural intercourse.

An Australian missionary came to our village to help us but he was threatened by the police and asked to go away. They drove us out of our houses and compelled us to leave Pakistan."

Similar is the account of MH-613.

Several witnesses mention that in January 1964, the police used to come to the village and extort money from the villagers and beat them up. Some of the houses were set on fire and that at the end of the month they were driven out of the village. These are MH-625 to MH-635 and several others.

Kanibokpara. Witnesses MH-636 to MH-651, mention the ill-treatment and extortion from the E.P.R. Ajlatoli and finally driving them out of their houses.

Katolmari. Kukijan Sangma, MH-773, a woman says:

"On February 3, 1964, Mahammad Idris Ali, Commander of the Ansars along with a mob of 2 to 3 hundred Muslims came to the village shouting "Allah ho Akabar, Pakistan Zinda-bad, go away from Pakistan or we will kill you, all your young women will be ours." They looted everything in mine and other houses. I, therefore, left with my family and even at the border whatever we had was taken away from us. There was no freedom or security in Pakistan. The Muslims of our village always threatened to take away the young women."

Similar is the statement of MH-727.

Gabrial Chiran, MH-729, says that their village was attacked and several houses were burnt on February 3 or 4, 1964. He says that prior to this many Muslims had occupied "our land and took away our paddy, cattle, goats etc. They told the villagers to leave Pakistan immediately."

Similar are the statements of MH-730 to MH-737.

Manik Marak, MH-739, says:

"We the inhabitants of border belt area, particularly Garos and Hajongs had been persecuted from the foun-

dation of Pakistan. Rioting and disturbances were usual in Pakistan but they were nothing compared to what happened this time.

The Muslims of our neighbouring villages along with the police and Ansars looted our paddy, rice, cattle and other household things and set fire to my house and some other houses at night. This compelled me to leave Pakistan."

Similar are the accounts of MH 740 to MH 764.

Many of these witnesses have also stated that the miscreants were shouting 'Embrace Islam or get out of Pakistan."

Monikura. Umesh Sangma, MH 562, says :

"In the third week of January 1964, one evening a large number of Muslims looted the houses of Garo Christians in a nearby village. Next morning the Chairman of U.C. No. 4 and a member of East Pakistan Assembly got them arrested but the officer-in-charge of Haluaghat set them free. On February 2, 1964, one Kurshid Ali and Mia Hussien abducted my daughter, aged 16, and raped her. She managed to escape after some time and crossed over to India."

Sushil Rechil, MH 566, says :

"We, the tribal people had been harassed by Muslims for many years. We were exploited, economically, socially and politically.

Economically—Both the Government and Muslims took away grains and other things without any kind of payment. We were taxed very heavily as compared to the Muslims.

Politically—We had no fundamental right of speech, our movement was restricted and we could not get any government jobs.

Socially—They abducted and raped our girls and tried to convert us to Islam. Some were actually converted."

Jagannath Kama, MH 567, says :

"Muslims in our village did not respect the honour of our women. My wife was molested by one Abdul Hai, when she had gone out to fetch water. My father-in-law was threatened with his life. Abdul Hai put his cow to graze in my field. When I protested he came to attack me with a 'Lathi'. On many occasions the Muslims told us "Pakistan is only for Muslims and not for Christians and others." Some time back when I was a teacher in a mission school, I was severly assaulted by a policeman because I failed to salute him."

Prafulla Sangma, MH 556, says :

"One Bismilla forcibly occupied my land in 1961 and Pushin, the notorious gangster, used to come to our village and take away anything he liked."

Shashi Mohan Marak, MH 565, says that he is a fisherman and when he used to go to the market his fish used to be taken away. Often when he went to the forest of Punihati mission to get fire-wood, he got beaten. The E.P.R. of Ramchandran Kura arrested him and others for no reason. The fish from his pond was caught by some Muslims.

Several witnesses have said that their crops used to be harvested and that in early part of February the village was attacked and looted by the Muslims along with the Ansars. Hussein Ali, Chairman U.C. used to be the leader.

Sangra. Soni Moni Chisim, MH 853, says :

"The whole of Garopara was looted by the Chairman and Ansars on February 4, 1964. After looting, they turned us out that very night."

Similar is the statement given by MH 854 and many others.

Jayaramkura. Gonendra Rechil, MH 321, says :

"In the middle of 1963, a gang of Muslims burnt many houses in this village inhabited by Dalus. Since 1963, the deportees from India used to extort money from the minority communities in our village. Complaints were made."

Rajkumar Dalu, MH 323, MH 324, MH 325, says :

"There are three Muslim villages namely Karaitola, Mazarakura and Mahislati near our village. Muslims from these villages burnt our village in the middle of 1963. We made a complaint in the court but nothing happened. Australian missionaries helped us by distributing food, clothing, money and by repairing our houses. From middle of January 1964, the Muslims of these villages threatened us that if we did not leave Pakistan, terrible things will happen to us. Then they attacked the village at the end of January and early February 1964 and looted everything, which compelled us to leave."

Similar are the statements of MH-326, MH-333 to MH-335 and MH-338.

Haluaghat. In Haluaghat which is a town, several incidents took place from the month of January 1964 upto the month of May 1964 in which several houses of minority communities were looted and a number of persons were injured. These are described by witnesses MH-918 to MH-925.

Several witnesses also describe the attacks on Jayarmkura in Gobrakura in January, February 1964.

Similar stories of harassment, forcible occupation of land, lifting of cattle and looting of the houses and finally driving them out on the plea that Pakistan was only for Muslims are told by witnesses from numerous villages in Maluaghat P.S. We shall only give the names of these villages now. Hatimara, Akanpara, Hatuagangle, Kumargoti, Jaljolia, Bhubankura, Chingipara, Kalianikanda, Jamgura, Salotola. Khairakuri, Batapara, Ganoi, Palashtal, Mohilsti, Kariatola, Talikhali, Jatapara, Dohopara, Bethkuri, Bakhitola, Mandatol, Pabiazuri, Kandapara, Guatabali, Nolua, Pagalpara, Birodakuri, Rangrapara, Atkapara, Bonopara, Bolmara. Dhanbangha. Bakaitola, Bishumpur, Fakirpara, Sidlipara, Amrikakura, Baghber, Nolkura, Nansapara, Mangara, Defuliapara, Majakali, Dhurail, Talukpara, Raghunathpur, Maizloti, Banaichirangpara, Bhuiapara, Chandrakona, Mekurkanda, Balukapara, Nangalpara, Katabari, Rohipagaria, Mahajanikanda, Nagarpara, Gazirbita, Surjopura, Bisgirpara. Roypur, Sandhykura, Ramdhani Kura, Sakuai, Simalkuchi, Jokimkura, Ganginarpur, Daraspa, Balchingri, Chorbangalia, Beroidakuni. Darabania, Dolapani, Kanibogpara, Sreepur, Dharalinni, Sanandkhila, Jainati, Atuajangle, Gazirbita, Katabari.

Durgapur P. S. Kamarkali. Rajani Sangma, MD-1, says: "The B.O.P., of E.P.R. Bijoypur Camp with the deportees from India, came to my house and drove me and my family out of my house. All my movable property was looted. The deportees along with the local Muslims used to come every day and night and threaten us by saying "Leave Pakistan, Pakistan is not for the Christians but only for the Muslims." He also gives the names of the assailants. Being oppressed, he left Pakistan and came to India."

Nangaljura. Niami Marak, MD-132, "In February 1964, about 20/25 local Muslims came to my house and took away 1000 rupees from me. The assailants cut me

by the ramdew on my left shoulder. They turned us out from the house. They said, "Pakistan is not for the Christians or Hindus but only for the Muslims." All my movables were looted by the assailants."

Augustin Manakin, MD-135, says: "Muslims used to come and take away our cattle and household things. One day in February, 1964, Muslims of Balukapara came shouting slogans and bagan to loot paddy, cattle and household effects. The leader of the gang Md. Innua Sheikh said, "Leave Pakistan and go to India. Pakistan is for Muslims only." We were reluctant to leave but these assailants threatened to kill us if we did not leave. So we had to leave Pakistan and take refuge in Garo Hills of Assam."

He also says that two girls of his village aged 13 and 14 were raped and one girl of 14 was abducted. He gives the names of assailants among whom is the officer-in-charge of E.P.R. Buipara Camp.

Similar accounts are given by MD-133 and MD-134.

Nangjora. Dinesh Sangma, MD-23, says that the disturbances broke out in his village in February 1964 and continued for 4 days. Muslims from far and nearby villages armed with weapons raided the village shouting "You must go to India. Pakistan is not for you and if you wish to live here peacefully with Muslims, you have to embrace Islam." He says that Muslims looted their houses and took away everything they could.

He also mentions that his niece aged 22 and sister aged 25 were raped by Muslims. The border police and E.P.R. Bhiapara B.O.P. Camp also helped these miscreants. The witness did not know the whereabouts of these unfortunate women. He says that he also sought help from the local Chairman No. 2 Kaisunder but he also helped the miscreants.

Birisiri. Biman Behari Sangma, MD-155, says that his uncle, Benode Behari Sangma, who was a member of U.C. No. 9, Birisiri, was returning home. When he reached Hatshibganj Bazar, one E.P.R. of Bejoypur Camp forcibly caught him and beat him. He says that some Muslim moulvis used to say "Christian Kuran Dhangsa Houk" "All Christians leave Pakistan, Pakistan is for the Muslims and not for others." He also says that his cousin was abducted by Md. Ansar Ali of Bhuligoan. They complained to O.C. of police and Chairman U.C. but instead of taking any action, they encouraged the miscreants. He says his house was looted so he had to leave Pakistan on 3rd May, 1964.

Prosanna Kumar Debanath, MD-156, says that some miscreants entered the house of Kutashar Nath and looted his house. They abducted his daughter-in-law and raped her. She was seriously injured and died in the hospital at Mymensingh.

Songara. Durgesh Chandra Marak, MD-2, says that the E.P.R. of the B.O.P. of Bijoypur Camp used to harass Hindus living in border villages by looting their property.

He says his daughter Parul aged 17 was studying in Ranikong mission. When she was coming home she was kidnapped by Muslims, Kabir Sheik and Nuru Hussain. She was rescued by the witness afterwards. He says that his house was also not spared and Muslims looted rice, paddy, cattle and all the household things.

He says that a girl from village Gaimara was abducted and raped. He also mentions the name of another girl of his village who was kidnapped. He says that the villagers complained to the police but no steps were taken to give protection to them.

Bagh Para. Amar Sangma, MD 3, says that "the E.P.R. of Chorapara B.O.P. used to come and beat the villagers making false accusations, if they were not given money which they demanded from the villagers. He says that he himself was beaten severely by them in March 1964. Because of the harassment from E.P.R. he left Pakistan and came to India. He was not allowed to carry anything with him while coming to India.

Surjyopur. Budesh Marak. MD 14, says:

"My village is situated near the border area. The police and Ansars used to come to our village and trouble us in various ways. In the year 1963, my wife with two other women of the village were abducted by the border police and were raped. Next day they were taken to the Haluaghat police station and were released after being detained the whole day.

In February 1964, a mob of Muslims along with the border police and Ansars attacked our village. They said "Leave Pakistan, otherwise you will be killed." So we had to leave Pakistan."

Digolbak. Ayna Sangma, MD 36, says:

"Our village was situated just on the border of Pakistan. Everybody in border belt area knew how terrible it was

to live on the border of Pakistan. We were daily troubled by the border police and Ansars.

In about 1st week of Falgun 1370 B.S. the border police and Ansars with Muslim villagers armed with rifles, spears and sticks came to our village and shouted "Go to India or embrace Islam otherwise you would be all shot down." Saying this they drove each of us out of our house and looted our paddy, rice, cows and other house materials and flew away.

"When the day was over the miscreants came again at night and set fire to houses. Five houses were burnt down with everything inside.

Sadari Sangma, daughter of Gobinda Marak, was raped by Muslims. She is eighteen years old and she is my niece.

This happened at the end of December 1963, the Muslim scoundrels, nearly five in number, entered the room where Sadari Sangma was. Time was then just evening. They raped her and tried to take her away to their house but in the meantime having heard the shouts others rushed to the place and saved her from the hands of those scoundrels."

He also mentions the names of the miscreants.

Kalsinder. Susenrda Areng, MD 8, says:

"Our village was somewhat away from the border area so we were not troubled by police or Ansars but Muslims always troubled us. They tried to harrass us in various ways. They used to let loose their cattle and damage our crops. They used to occupy our land forcibly and unlawfully,

Suddenly, the Muslims who were our neighbours, armed with spears, sticks and other weapons attacked our village. They were shouting "You must go to India, Pakistan is not for you." He says that they looted his paddy, rice, cattle and other household things. They carried away whatever they could carry in their carts and drove the villagers out saying "Go away". As they had no place to stay on they came to India."

Sapamari. Noni Sangma, MD 26, says that in March, 1964, Mahmad Babar Ali, member of No,8 Haluaghat, with the help of local Muslims came to his village and burnt their houses. All the movable properties were looted and they were driven out of their houses. Compl-

aint was lodged against the miscreants, with the officer-in-charge of Jikna E P.R. Camp but no action was taken.

Ranipur. Lompabati Hajong, MD 116, says:

"In the second week of January 1964, the Muslims of Ranipur threatened us to leave Pakistan. On the January 16, 1964, when we were leaving Pakistan, the police of Charnapara arrested me with my daughter, Phulswari Hazong and took us to the police camp. After that night they set us free and sent us to India and we came to India on the 17th January 1964."

Bipin Chandra Hajong, MD-115, says: "In the second week of January, 1964, the Muslims of Ranipur threatened us to leave Pakistan. They told us that if we would not leave Pakistan, they would kill us and would abduct our women. When we were leaving Pakistan, on the way the police of Charnapara border camps detained us and snatched away our money. They also snatched my wife and took her to the police camp. After that night they set her free and sent her to India on the 16th January, 1964.

Bharatpur. Dwajendra Hajong, MD-46, says that the whole Hajong para of the village was attacked by the Muslims of the neighbouring villages, on January 9, 1964. They entered the house and looted everything. The attackers told them that Pakistan is not the country for Hindus so Hindus should leave Pakistan immediately and go to India. Being oppressed they left Pakistan and came to India.

Similar is the account given by MD-47, MD-48, MD-49, MD-50 and MD-51.

Ghilagora. Talia Marak, MD-67, says that a group of local Muslims often used to come to their houses and take away forcibly paddy, rice and other things which they liked. They also used to cut bamboos and trees which did not belong to them. He says that he was beaten and driven out of his house forcibly. Miscreants tried to kidnap his wife. A complaint was made against them but no action was taken. Being harassed they came to India in February, 1964.

Similar account is given by MD-60, MD-61, MD-62, MD-63, MD-64, MD-65, MD-66, MD-68, MD-69 and MD-70.

Chasin Sangma, MD-52, says that Muslims of Ranipur forcibly reaped paddy from his field. In resisting

these Muslims one of his neighbours, Jamad Chisim, was killed. He says that his house was burnt and in various ways they were oppressed by the Muslims, and E.P.R. camp of Charnapara B.O.P. He says that he could not carry on the peaceful life in Pakistan and had to leave Pakistan.

Gorachand Sangma, MD-59, says that his village was attacked by a mob of Muslims along with the border police and Ansars, on 9th Falgun 1370. They were armed with rifles and other weapons. He says that they entered forcibly into his house, drove out the whole family by beating and whipping them. The mob looted his paddy, rice, cattle and other household goods. He says that his daughter was injured. As there was no way to save themselves, they came to India.

Lalmohan Chiran, MD-235, says: "Our village was away from the border area. Our village was surrounded by Muslim villages and we were always harassed by them in various ways. They used to abduct and rape girls from minority class. My daughter and niece took shelter in Bahlu Kaparo Mission when the miscreants tried to abduct them. Kadir Sheikh, Chairman No. 3 Dubaura Union Council, was one of the miscreants. He was helped by some of the village leaders and police staff of Durgapur P.S. So there was nobody in the village to whom we could go and complain."

He says the recent disturbances broke out in the first week of Magh 1370 (February 1964). The Muslims of neighbouring villages with help of police of Durgapur P. S. raided the village and looted everything and forced them to leave Pakistan and come to India.

Similar incident is described by MD-236.

Dakshin Maij Para. Upendra Chandra Roy, MD-93, says that local council members with the help of neighbouring Muslims suddenly surrounded the village on February 10, 1964. They were armed and were shouting slogan "Pakistan Zindabad." He says that they had seen houses burnt in the neighbouring Hindu villages. So being frightened they went to E.P.R. Camp at Charnapara but they were refused help. However, that night passed and they left Pakistan the next day, on February 11, 1964.

Similar account is given by MD-89, MD-90, MD-91, MD-92, MD-94, MD-95, MD-96, MD-97, MD-98 and MD-99.

Ballarpur. Somaram Hajong, MD-81, says that the police of the Charnapara camp went to his village at

night on February 22, 1964 and threatened to arrest the villagers. They demanded money from the villagers and assured the villagers to protect them on their way to India. He says that the Muslims looted his and other houses at the same time and they had to leave Pakistan for safety.

Padma Lochan Hajong, MD-77, says that the Muslims of his village started looting the properties of the villagers a few days before February 22, 1964.

On February 22 at midnight the police from Durgapur P.S. came and demanded money from the villagers. Then came a mob of Muslims along with Ansars and looted the whole village. The miscreants also ordered them to leave Pakistan. He says that owing to the behaviour of Muslims he had to leave Pakistan on February 22, 1964.

Similar statements are given by MD-78, MD-79, MD-80, MD-82, MD-83, MD-84, MD-85, MD-86 and MD-87.

Arapara. Kero Marak, MD-74, says that his house was burnt by Md. Emam Ali, Md. Rakman Ali, Md. Sam Meah of his village on February 21, 1964. He complained to Chairman and O.C. police but no action was taken. He says that some Muslims stole his cattle from the field. He complained to the Chairman but no action was taken. He says that a girl, Anjona Rongdi, a daughter of Pahar Mandal, was raped by Md. Momroj Ali in her house. She shouted for help. The villagers went to her house and arrested the miscreant and took him to the Chairman. But the Chairman instead of punishing him, released him.

He says that he himself was injured twice by E.P.R. and Muslims.

Rajkesor Sangma, MD-75, says that in the month of March, 1964, a mob of Muslims came and burnt the houses in his village. He says that E.P.R. always forced them to do the work and no payment was made. They also used to punish them (villagers) without any cause. He says that their lands were also forcibly taken by Muslims.

Similar accounts are given by MD-71, MD-72, MD-73 and MD-76.

Putimari. Similar account of looting and harassment by Muslims is given by MD-149, MD-150 and MD-151 from Putimari.

Madupara. Jangan Sangma, MD-152, says that on February 6, 1964 some Muslims with the help of some E.P.R. of Bijoypur Camp looted all the movable property of his and his villagers' houses and they were driven out of their houses. They left Pakistan on February 6, 1964.

Similar account is given by MD-153. He left Pakistan on February 28, 1964.

Belku Hajong, MD-154, says that on 20th Falgun 1370 (March 1964) a great number of Muslims along with border police and Ansars came to his village and shouted "Leave Pakistan." They looted whole village. He says that his house was also looted and paddy, rice, cows, goats and household things were taken away. He left Pakistan on 20th Falgun 1370 (March 1964).

Goberchena. Rajani Marak, MD-248, says that local Muslims took away his paddy as also his land by force.

He says on 20th Falgun 1370 (March 1964) a large number of Muslims entered his village shouting "Allah ho Akbar" and looted their houses. He complained to Md. D.R. Mannan, village Suhakipur and to police authorities but no steps were taken to protect them. Being frightened they left Pakistan.

Similar story is given by MD-249, MD-250, MD 251, MD-252, MD-253, MD-254 and MD-255.

Kalidahakanda. Similar attack by the local Muslims with the help of Ansars is described by MD-180, MD-181, MD-182, MD-183 and MD-184 of village Kalidahakanda on March 26, 1964.

Thowsalpara. Peter Marak, MD-190, says :

"Being oppressed by the Muslims and E.P.D. he could not live in Pakistan peacefully. The Muslims used to come every night with dangerous weapons and threaten him and his village people to leave Pakistan. The women could not move freely outside and inside the village because of the rough behaviour of the Muslims.

By the middle of Poush 1370, the Muslims rushed to his house and forcibly took away his reaped paddy from his house. Every year the Muslims used to reap his crops from his paddy field. By the 1st week of Falgun 1370, the Muslims set fire to the house of his neighbour. For the security of life he was compelled to migrate to India."

Similar accounts of attacks on February 27, 1964 are given by MD-192 and MD-193.

Similar account of attack in March, 1964 is given by MD-189 and MD-191.

Nayapara. Niru Ram Das, MD-212, says that one house of his village was burnt by the Muslims. He says that in the month of March, 1964, some Muslims entered the "Kamakya Bari" (Temple) of Hatkundi. The idol was desecrated.

Similar accounts are given by MD-210 and MD-213.

Witnesses MD-208 Ramnagar, MD-207 Sankarpur, MD-206 Konapara, MD-187 and MD-188 Marala, MD-127 to MD-131 Bakalgora refer to the same incident of "Kamakya Bari" of Hatkundi as above.

Paikpara. Witnesses MD-245, MD-246 and MD-247 from Paikpara mention that the Muslims, abour 20 in number, entered the village and looted the houses of Jogendra Chandra Pandit and others. They also mention that some members of the family of Jogendra Chandra were injured. This happened in the month of April. 1964.

Karch. Agitkumar Marak, MD-100, describes a similar type of attack and looting by the Muslims of nearby villages on April 4, 1964 and the help was sought from the Chairman U.B. who took no action.

Similar accounts are given by MD-101, MD-102, MD-103, MD-104, MD-105, MD-106, MD-107, MD-108, MD-109, MD-110, MD-111, MD-112, MD-113, MD-114 and MD-115.

Similar attacks and looting took place in the month of April 1964, in villages Sakalmal, Baraiund, Pattan, Dautokone, Bonogram, Nayapara and Bawpipara.

Kistapur. Ganga Kongor, MD-262, says that the Muslim miscreants about 50 in number, entered the village Ghosgaon which is about 3 miles from his village in the month of May 1964 and burnt the whole village.

Sadhupara. Bhupendra Chandra MD-263, describes similar looting of houses and taking away of cows in the village Sadhupara in the month of May 1964.

Durgapur. In this village the looting of the houses in a similar manner is described by Subhashini Day, MD-230, in the month of February 1964, and similar attack is also described by Debesh Chakrawaty, MD-229, in the month of September, 1964.

Siribardi P.S. Haluahati. Subasini Hajong, MS-5, says that Muslims of neighbouring villages with the help of the Chairman and members of Union Council, Haluahati and O.C. Siripardi police thana, looted her house and took Rs. 2500/- from them on January 19, 1964. They left Pakistan the next day on Janury 20, 1964. Similar account is given by MS-4 and MS-6.

Maghadal. Shyam Chandra Hajong, MS-20, says that his village was looted by a mob of obout 50 Muslims at about 10 a.m. on January 20, 1964. He says his own house was also looted and everything was taken away.

Similar account is given by MS-21, MS-22, MS-23, MD-26, MS-24, MS-25 and MS-27.

Simolkuchi. Gokul Chandra Barman, MS-19, says that his nearby village Korogaon was looted by a large mob of Muslims on January 20, 1964. He says that he had also to pay Rs. 500/- to the miscreants.

Similar accounts of looting the village Korogaon is given by MS-11, MS-12, MS-13, MS-14, MS-15, MS-16, MS-17 and MS-18.

Chandpara. Budhiswar Koch, MS-28, says that on January 22, 1964, in the morning, Muslims along with Ansars and E.P.R. Bohini looted his village. He says that his house was also looted and everything was taken away.

Witnesses MS-29, MS-30, MS-31, MS-32, MS-33, MS-34, MS-35, MS-36 and MS-37 give similar account of looting of the whole village including their own houses.

Baisnabpara. Ram Prasad Koch, MS-10, says :

"In the month of January 1964, Muslims of Bogulakandi, Sowchapara and Kadamtali entered into our village and threatened us to leave Pakistan and they began to snatch our cattle from the fields. They also snatched our paddy without paying. One of the Muslims took away my utensils and plough. When I went to prevent him from snatching my utensils and plough, he wanted to hit me with a spear. In the month of February Muslims attacked our village by day and looted our village."

He says that Pakistan police and Ansars used to come along with the Muslims and threaten them to leave Pakistan. When they complained to the police inspector, Shribordi, he refused to help and demanded money from them.

Durga Mahan Koch, MS-7, says :

"The Muslims of Bagulapara, Kadamtali and Sowchapra came in groups to our village and began to snatch our cattle from our houses and some of them took our paddy without paying. On January 23, 1964, the police of Kawajhara border camp came at night to my house and began to beat me without and cause. They complained that I bought things (Biri, soap etc.) from India and sold in Pakistan. They threated to arrest me and to send me to jail. Then my father gave them Rs. 150/- to set me free from this false case. Thus such incidents would happen in our village. In the last February, a gang of Muslims of those villages entered our village and began to loot our houses."

Similar statements are given by MS-8 and MS-9.

Karnajhora. Nagendra Hajong, MS-52, says that his village was looted by a mob of Muslims on January 18, 1964. His house was also looted.

Similar story of looting on January 18, 1964 is given by MS-51, MS-53, MS-54, MS-42, MS-43 and MS-45.

This village was again looted on January 24, 1964. Witnesses MS-38, MS-39, MS-40, MS-41, MS-44, MS-46, MS-47, MS-48, MS-49 and MS-50 describe the looting of the village on January 24, 1964.

Jhulgaon. Dharani Kanta Koch, MS-55, says :

"The deportees from India and the Muslims from the nearby villages came to our village on January 20, 1964 and looted all our things. This was going on for three days, till January 22, 1964. We went to the E.P.R. camp Karnajhora for help but they also failed to help. We had no alternative left and had to leave Pakistan. While crossing the border, we had to pay Rs. 1000/- to E.P.R. at the border."

Similar accounts are given by MS-56, MS-57, MS-58, MS-59, MS-60, MS-61, MS-62, MS-63 and MS-64.

Similar looting had taken place on February 1, 1964 which is described by MS-65, MS-66, MS-67, MS-68, MS-69, MS-70, MS-71, MS-72, MS-73 and MS-74. They all say that the looting was done by Muslims and E.P.R. camp, Karnajhora and they were arrested for 4 days, from February 1, 1964 to February 4, 1964. After this they were released and were driven out of the village. They crossed the border and came to India on February 5, 1964.

Chukchukia. Similar accounts of looting are given by witnesses MS-1, MS-2 and MS-3 from Chukchukia on January 29, 1964.

Balijuri. Surendra Mrong, MS-102, says that he was beaten by the E.P.R. Nasinmuri for no reason. He says that Hajong village about half a mile away from his village was looted by the muslims with the help of the Chairman and Members of U.C. and E.P.R. on January 21, 1964. He was given the names of three of his village girls who were abducted by the Muslims. He says that those cases were reported to the Union Council but no action was taken.

Nanda Ram Hajong, MS-103, says that a group of about 25 Muslims came to his village at night on January 21, 1964 and looted the village.

Mohesh Hajong, MS-99, says :

"The E.P.Rs. from Towkucha Camp used to come to our village every now and then and we were forced to work for E.P.R. Camp

"On 6 Magh, 1370, some local Muslims and the newly arrived deportees from Assam came to my house and all my movable properties were looted. The police inspectors, Samojuddin, Narul Mia, Mofijuddin, Abdul Jalil were present there and they took away Rs. 700/- as bribe from me and turned us out from the house."

Similar accounts are given by MS-98, MS-100 and MS-101.

Jalkata. Raj Kishor Barman, MS-78, says that his village was attacked and looted by a large number of Muslims on January 22, 1964. All the properties were looted. They sought help from the police and the Chairman and members of the Union Board but no help was given.

Similar accounts of looting in the month of February 1964 are given by MS-75, MS-76, MS-77 and MS-83.

Several others refer to the looting and burning of villages Jalkata, Satkiapara, Kalakanda, Dearchar, Dayarpor, Izarapara, Sribordi and Jankipur in the month of March, 1964.

Kharamura. Chakaram Koch, MS 104 says that the E.P.R. of Towkacha B.O.P. harassed his villagers. Most of his villagers were beaten by them and money was

demanded by them. The villagers collected and gave Rs. 500/- to them. Later E.P.R. ordered them to move to India. The police officer-in-charge was also present at that time. Next day when they found the witness in his house they beat him so severely that he became almost unconscious He says that afterwards his house was looted by the local Muslims. As there was no alternative and being frightened he left Pakistan.

Ijarapara. Budhu Ram Rahi Das, MS-110, says :

"The incident occurred in the month of February 1964, in the village of Ijarapara. A large number of Muslim miscreants came to my village and looted my house and other houses of the village. After looting the miscreants burnt the houses. All the valuable things were taken away."

Similar accounts are given by MS-112 and MS-113.

Gorjuripar. Witnesses MS-107, MS-108 and MS-115 from this village Gorjuripur gave similar statements about looting their village in the month of February 1964.

Dearchar. Nagendra Chandra Barman, MS-116, says that his village was looted and burnt by the Muslims of Pakistan in the month of February 1964. He says that a girl aged 16 from Satikpara was abducted at night from her house. She was raped and returned after a few days.

Similar incident of abduction and rape is given by MS-117, MS-118, MS-119, MS-120, MS-121, MS-122 and MS-123.

Hatibar. Sitanath Koch, MS-129, refers to the attack on his village on January 19, 1964 by the Muslim deportees from India and Ansars. He says that they looted everything so he and his villagers had to leave Pakistan.

Rasa Nath Koch, MS-125, says that on February 3, 1964 the village was looted by the local Muslim miscreants. They were armed with weapons like swords and entered their houses. All the movable property was looted and they were driven out of their village.

Similar statements are given by MS-126, MS-127 and MS-128.

Similar incidents of looting and plunder are given by many witnesses from Kakilakora, Bhatpur, Haria, Ashinakanda, Rangajan, Ghonapara, Chakrapur, Tejerkandi, Bustemerchar

and Diglokona. All the witnesses say that the incident happened in the month of February 1964.

Witnesses from Iangarpara, Bhayadanga, Ashanakanda, Vlukanda, Satkiapara, Ranisimul give similar stories of looting the houses in the month of March 1964.

Similar attacks by Muslims are also described by the witnesses from Gonakikhila who crossed the border in the month of May, 1964.

Netrakona. P.S. Netrakona Nityanand Rishi, MNT2, says that some miscreants of Netrakona tried to burn the Netrakona Medical Hall. This happened in the month of December, 1963.

Hari Charan Rishi, MNT-3, says that in the month of March, 1964 the house of Rajani Chowdhary of Pukuria was looted by the Muslims. He also says that Muslims entered "Kamakya Bari" temple of Hatkundali. He also says that the daughter aged 16 of Harendra Maitra was abducted by a Muslim "Khalifa". She was raped and returned after some days.

Similar is the statement given by by MNT-4.

Hatkunduli. Mati Lubanya Das, MNT-74, says that Muslim miscreants, about 25 in number, came to his village and surrounded the temple of 'Kamakshi' (Kamakya Bari) and desecrated the idol.

Barni. Manindra Chandra Sarkar, MNT-69, says that Kalibari (temple) of the village was attacked by Muslims and the idol was broken. They also hanged the head of a cow in the Kalighar (temple) itself.

Malni. Ramesh Chandra Saha, MNT-8, refers to the burning of Netrakona Medical Hall by Muslims in February 1964 and says that Government authorities took no action when this was going on.

Ramani Rishi, MNT-6, says that the houses of Nagendra Rishi and Nalein Rishi of Malni were burnt by Muslims. He also refers to the incident of raping which is mentioned by MNT-3.

Parla. Rash Mohan Sarkar, MNT-9, says that one house of Parla village was burnt by Muslims in the month of December 1963. He also refers to the burning of Netrakona Medical Hall and the abduction of Hirendra Maitra's daughter. He says that some of the Muslims wanted them to be converted. Kali mandir of the village was broken. Being harrased by the Muslims he left Pakistan and came to India.

Similar incidents are also reported, by MNT-10 and MNT-11.

Pukhuria Ramesh Chandra Das, MNT-12, refers to the burning of Medical Hall and says that three houses of his village were looted in the month of December 1963. He also gives the names of the miscreants. The same incident of rape told by **MNT-3** is also referred to by him.

Similar accounts are given by MNT-13, MNT-14, MNT-15, MNT-17, MNT-18 and MNT-19.

Several other witnesses from this village have mentioned the looting of the houses in the village in the month of January, February, March and June, 1964.

Jatior. MNT-35, MNT-36, MNT-47 and MNT-38 from Jailor say that that village was looted in the month of February 1964. They also refer to the looting of Baraidahar village.

MNT-39, refers to the incident of "Kamakya Bari" which is referred to by several other witnesses from different villages.

Amtala. Lakshan Chandra Das, MT-52, says that Amtala and Nayapara were looted by the Muslims of Pakistan and Telegati, Garma and Aithor were burnt by a mob of Muslims.

Similar accounts are given by MNT-53, MNT-54, MNT-55 and MNT-56.

Panchpai. Same incident of "Kamakya Bari" is described by the witnessess from this village in the month of March 1964.

Bangla. Jogesh Chandra Day, MNT-58, says that two houses from his village were burnt by Muslims in the month of March 1964. He has given the names of the miscreants.

Similar are the statements of MNT-59 and MNT-57.

Mahammadpur. Ganendra Chandra Acharjeya, says that his house was burnt by a Muslim officer and his staff. He has given the name of the miscreant. He says that it happened in the month of February 1964. He has also given the name of a girl of 16, his neighbour, abducted and molested and returned by Muslims.

Similar incidents of looting of property of the minority communities and taking away everything, entering into "Kamakya Bari" village Hatkundi and dishonouring the idol ; burning of the houses in the month of March and April 1964 are given by the witnesses from Dharbangla, Betali, Barail, Sekhergati, Barawari, Saraikada Dhitpur, Jalalpur, Bobahala, Karaikandi, Palla, Kandalia.

Ourangabad. Dharani Kanta Pandit, MNT-68, says that his house and shops were looted by the Muslims in the month of August, 1964. He has given the names of the miscreants.

Rohi. Drupadi Debi, MNT-76, says that her house at Netrakona was looted by the Muslims in the month of August 1964. She has also given the names of the miscreants.

Kalamkanda. P.S. Bengarkona. Maleng Rechil, MK-88, says :

"Local Muslims with the help of Pakistan police started quarrelling and rioting since November 1963. They took away my fruits, vegetables, paddy, rice, etc. by force and also told me to leave Pakistan because Pakistan was not for any non-Muslim community. They threatened me saying, "If you do not leave Pakistan, you will be driven out by force." We complained to the police but they took no action. This communal feeling was so much that even Pakistan police and Ansars were against us. So we had to leave Pakistan and come to India."

Moti Suji Rechil, MK-91, a woman of 60, says that her daughter, Motchoni, went out to bring water from a nearby stream. She was followed by a Muslim named Jabber and his friend who tried to rape her. She shouted and villagers about 8 in number went and rescued her. She says that she reported this to the Chairman and members of the Union Board but no action was taken against the miscreants. She says that being frightened she left Pakistan and came to India.

Noni Marak, MK-89, says that Muslims from Chaitanagar used to come to his village and take away by force his bamboos, goats, fowls etc. If it was resisted then they used to beat him. The police of Lengora camp, which was very near to his village, also used to come and take away whatever they liked. Complaint was made against the Muslims to the Chairman Chaitanagar, Abi Rokman, but no action was taken.

Harindra Rechil, MK-87, says that police from Lengora camp always used to come to his village and take away anything they wanted, without paying. He himself was fined Rs. 30/- by them on a false charge of smuggling goods from India. He says they also compelled them by taking them to the camp to work and if it was refused the police used to beat them. Being helpless he left Pakistan.

Patra Areng, MK-90, says that he sold his Jack-fruit tree from his garden. When the tree was sold for Rs. 15/-, the Chairman, U.B., went to his house, beat him and prohibited him to sell the tree. He was also threatened to be beaten again if he did not leave Pakistan. He says that he was beaten so severely that he got injured and could not go out for 5 days.

Jagannathpur. Susendra Marak, MK-105, says,

"Local Muslims with the E.P.R. people oppressed him and his village people inhumanly. The E.P.R. camp namely Lengura B.O.P. under the P. S. of Kolmakanda in Mymensingh District with the Ansars came to his village and tortured them. They often said that non-Muslim people must leave Pakistan sooner or later.

By the middle of Agrahayan his crops were reaped by the Muslims forcibly and he sought assistance from the police and the Chairman of the U. C. No. 6 under the P.S. of Kolmakanda, without result."

Similar is the account of MK-106.

Shibpur. Onish Marak, MK-137, says :

"The Muslims and E.P.R. jointly created communal disturbances in the whole of Mymensingh district. The Ansars used to take out processions every day shouting slogans that everybody must put on the Muslim cap otherwise they will have to leave Pakistan. Every non-Muslim will be converted to Islam.

He says that in the month of January, the daughter of his brother was kidnapped by Moslem Mia, son-in-law of the Chairman, U. C. No. 6. He, with his brother, filed a complaint against the miscreants in the court of Netrakona sub-division. The result was that he and his village people were arrested and whipped severely.

He says that after some weeks the girl was sent back to her parents."

Gouripur. Nagendra Banai, MK-6, says that Muslim hooligans and Ansars looted his village at about 8 a.m. on the 29th Magh 1370 (February). He says that when assistance was sought by him from Lengura B. O. P. he was insulted and was not given any help.

Debraj Debnath, MK-3, says that his village was attacked by local Muslims in the month of April, 1964. They came and beat the villagers severely and took away paddy. He says that they also took away the properties of non-Muslims. He also gives the names of the miscreants.

Sachindra Kumar Debnath, MK-2, says that his house was set on fire by the Muslims in the month of April, 1964. He says one Sindhu Debnath was injured. He also says that his wife was abducted and was detained for some time.

Similar incidents of looting of the village in the month of April 1964 are given by MK-1 MK-4, MK-5 and MK-22.

Similar attacks by the Muslims in the month of May 1964 are described by MK-13, MK-14, MK-15 and MK-16.

Several others describe the attack by a large number of Muslims on the village in the month of June 1964. They say that the miscreants looted their houses and took away all paddy, rice, cattle and other valuable things. Some of the witnesses are MK-17, MK-18, MK-19, MK-20 and MK-21.

Kebalpur. Sutrashan Banai, MK-25, says that on February 15, 1964, at night when everybody was asleep, a large mob of Muslims armed with weapons attacked their village and beat the villagers. Paddy, rice, cattle and all the household things were looted by them. Being oppressed they left the village and came to India.

Dulal Banai, MK-28, says that before leaving Pakistan Muslims used to tell the minority community that Muslims were coming from India who were oppressed by Indian Government. So the non-Muslim community in Pakistan should leave Pakistan otherwise they will be driven out by those Muslims from India. He says that on February 18, 1964, the Muslims attacked the village and looted all the properties of the villagers.

Similar description of loot is given by MK-23, MK-24, MK-26 and MK-27.

Manipur Para. Rakhal Chandra Biswas, MK-29, says that in 1963 two houses for Manipurpara and one house of Kalaikandi were looted by Muslims. He also says that a daughter of Nabin Biswas, aged 18, was abducted from her house.

Same incident of loot and abduction as above is described by several other witnesses. They are MK-30, MK-31, MK-32, MK-33, MK-34, MK-35, MK-36, MK-38 to MK-51 and MK-53 to MK-61.

Harendra Biswas, MK-52, says that the village was attacked by a mob of about 30 Muslims on January 3, 1964, looted the houses of Jagesh Saha, Jamini Biswas and others. The miscreants injured Jamini Biswas and others and took away all the valuable things.

Kalaikandi. Several witnesses from this village corroborate the incidents described by witness MK-29 and others from Manipurpara, mentioned above. They are MK-78 to MK-84 and MK-86.

Bardol. Iswar Debnath, MK-63, says that a mob of about 35 Muslims attacked the house of his relative Kalachand Debnath in the month of February 1964 and took away his four cows by force. His own house was also looted.

Similar account of looting their own houses is given by MK-64, MK-65and MK-62.

All the above witnesses and MK-66, MK-67, MK-68, MK-69 and MK-70 refer to the house of Govind Chandra Debnath, which was burnt by the Muslim miscreants.

Pagla. Haridas Debnath, MK-92, says that in the month of March 1964, Muslim miscreants about 25 in number, leaving all the Muslim houses, looted the houses of Sakunama Das and others. Sakunama Das and Abani Kumar Nandi were injured. The house of Abani Kumar Nandi was burnt. All valuables were taken away.

Sripur. Bisweshwar Chandra Barman, MK 101, says that in the month of March 1964, about 40 Muslim miscreants surrounded the house of his neighbour, Rojoni Barman and looted all his valuables and cash. They killed Rojoni Barman.

Similar account is given by MK-103.

Lengara. Baloram Hajong, MK-128, says that his village is situated 4 or 5 miles from the Pakistan-India border. On January 9, 1964, local Muslims, Ansars and E.P.R. of the local outpost, entered the village and looted their houses and took away all the valuable things, and movable property. They demanded money and young women from them and threatened to punish them if the demand was not fulfilled. He says for these reasons they had to leave Pakistan.

Madukura Kamal Singh Marak, MK-117, says:

"On 25th Falgun 1370 (March 1964) a large mob of Muslims, armed with sticks and spears attacked our village. They entered every house of non-Muslims and began to loot. The miscreants entered my house also and drove me and my wife out of the house, looted everything whatever I had. The house of Kumar Marak, my neighbour, was also looted. As the whole village was looted we had to come to India leaving Pakistan for ever."

He says:

"If I am asked about the behaviour of Pakistan police and Ansars I will say that these are the images of Satan."

Siria Sangma, NK-118, says:

"The present communal disturbances happened on 9th Baisakh of 1370 B.S. and continued for three days. On this day the Muslims accompanied by Ansars attacked our village. They shouted, "Go you must to India leaving your wives and girls. Pakistan is not yours. It is a Muslim country."

They looted all our things and goods. They came again at night and set fire to my house. Three houses were burnt.

Finding no alternative way to live in Pakistan, we all decided to leave it.

So on 12th Baisakh of 1370 B.S. we left Pakistan behind for India."

He says:

"Sudimoni Dawa was married to Rashid Sangma just on the eve of communal disturbances. But what I am going to give out the facts that happened before her wedding. Might be 3 months before her wedding. Sudimoni Dawa was tried to be raped in broad day light when she was cutting fuel at a short distance of her home. The miscreants attacked her suddenly and tried to rape her. But hearing shouts, other people came to the place and the miscreants fled away."

Similar incidents of looting of houses of non-Muslims are given by many witnesses from different villages from this P.S. We shall give only the names of the villages. Govindpur, Kharnai, Magdura, Jatrabari, Maijonga, Raghunathpur, Kailadi, Aralia, Batitali, Chawhata, Charulia, Kalamkanda, Rojnagar, Isapur, Baichajuri, Bonbara, Baraiund, Sanpasipara, Ranigaon, Kachugara, Astagram and Manaharpur.

Barhatta P.S. Douli. Bipin Chandra Namdas, NB-5, says that in February 1964, about 30 Muslim miscreants came to his village and looted the houses of Sudhangshi Mohan Datta, Birendra Chandra Sen, Sarat Chandra Nath and others. The miscreants injured these people and took away all the valuable things.

Similar statements are given by MB-6 and MB-7.

Manoranjan Barman, MB-8, says that his house was looted by the Muslim miscreants in the month of February 1964.

Andhadia. Nalini Kanta Chakrabarti, MB-22, says that in the month of February 1964 the Muslims, about 25 in number, entered the house of Lalit Mohan Datta. He was beaten and injured. They took away all the valuable things.

Similar is the statement of MB-26.

Anil Kumar Sarkar, MB-24, says that the incident occured in the nearby village of Andhadia. Some Muslim miscreants looted the house of Ganga Charan Namdas and took away all the valuables. Similarly the valuables of Kedar Chandra Sarkar were taken away and his house was burnt.

Similar incident is mentioned by MB-25.

MB-23, says that the houses in his village were looted in the month of June, 1964.

Garma. Swarup Namdas-MB-34, says that in January 1964, Muslim miscreants entered Guala and Gobindpur, the nearby villages, and leaving Muslim houses aside looted all other houses. Guru Nath Pandit Suresh Chandra Sarkar and others were beaten and injured. The miscreants took away all the valuable things.

Similar account is given by MB-35.

MB-28 and **MB-29** say that Gobindpur, Kalika, Andardia were looted by the Muslims in the month of March, 1964.

Dattagram. Nand Kumar Namdas, MB-1, says that Deoli and Dattagram were looted by the Muslims in the month of January, 1964. He has also given the names of the miscreants. No action against the miscreants was taken.

Similar account is given by MB-2 and MB-3.

Keshtala. Haridas Singha, MB-17, says that in the month of July 1963, some Muslims attacked the house of Benu Chakravarti. They abducted his wife and molested her. She was found injured by the side of the house. Same incident is mentioned by MB-41 from village Manesh.

Sunil Chandra Sarkar, MB-14, says that in January 1964, a gang of Muslim miscreants entered the house of

Suresh Chandra Sarkar of the village and beat him. They took away money and valuables from him.

Battapara. Jagabandhu Barman, MB-11, says that Kalighar (Temple) of Raipur had been broken by the Muslims of Pakistan in the month of January 1964. He says that a girl from his neighbouring village was kidnapped by the Muslims.

Dosal. Shyam Charan Namdas, MB-36, says that some Muslim miscreants entered the house of Lalit Chandra and looted all his clothes, utensils, valuables and whatever they could carry.

Similar are the statements given by MB-37, MB-38, MB-39 and MB-40.

Sahata. Naresh Chandra Datta, MB-18, and Jatindra Saha, MB-19, describe the similar kind of looting of the houses in Sahata.

Manas. Mano Rajendra Sarkar, MB-46, says that in the month of February 1964, some Muslim miscreants took away paddy from the paddy fields of village people. Then again they came in greater number and burnt the houses of Birendra Chakravarti and injured him. He says that they were driven out of their houses by the Chairman, U.B. and Muslims and they had to leave Pakistan and come to India on July 16, 1964.

Narendra Das, MB-44, says that in the second week of May 1964, some miscreants about 25 in number came and attacked his neighbour's house and abducted Maya Rani Chakravarti from the house. He says that they also attacked his house and looted all his property.

Harindra Chandra Sarkar, MB-47, describes the same incident of abduction as above and says that Muslims used to harass that family in various ways. Beef was thrown into his house. He says that this was reported to the police but no action was taken. He also says that Birendra Kishor Ghosh was injured in the village.

Halachia. Akhil Chandra Datta, MB-58, says that the house of Bharat Doctor of Chakpara was looted by Muslim miscreants whose names he has given. Similarly, he says that the house of Sudhangshu Kumar Datta was also looted in the month of March 1964. He also says that Bharat Doctor of Chakpara was seriously injured by Siraj Khan.

Pichail. Rangamoni Saha, MB-50, says that in last November 1963, a large number of Muslim miscreants

came to the market of Fakirerbazar, which was the nearest market of Pichail, and burnt the market. Some people were also injured.

Similar account is given by MB-49 and MB-51.

Several witnesses from this P.S. also refer to the same incident of dishonouring 'Kamakya Bari' of Hatkundali in P.S. Netrakona, which is also mentioned by many witnesses in P.S. Netrakona. We give some of the numbers. They are MB-9, MB-12, MB-13, MB-59, MB-60, MB-62, MB-73 and MB-74.

Several other villages refer to the similar incidents of looting the houses. In order not to burden the report we give some of the names of the villages only. They are Moati, Kandapara, Premnagar, Govindpur and Rupgunj bazar.

The migration of non-Muslims, Hindus and Christians from various other police station areas has also taken place on a fairly large scale between January and April 1964. The causes of this migration are similar to those already dealt with in the various police station areas. In these areas also the harassment of non-Muslims had been going on long prior to the large scale migration. That harassment was, speaking generally, confined to the occupation of land, harvesting of crops, lifting of cattle, robbing people and molestation of women. It was, however, by and large confined to such acts against individuals. The organised attacks in which the police, the Ansars and Chairmen of the Union Councils took a lead, began from January 1964. As in other P.S. here also the minorities were told that they should leave Pakistan for there was no place for them in Pakistan.

We do not propose to deal with these various P.S. areas beyond mentioning the names of the P.Ss. and the names of the villages from where the minorities were compelled to migrate.

The differences between the migrations from Mymensingh district and districts like Dacca and Khulna were—

(1) There was not the same large scale killing as in those districts.

(2) In this district the police and the Ansars and other authorities took a leading part in driving the minorities out, while in the two districts named above the authorities generally remained silent spectators of the massacres and looting.

(3) In Mymensingh the forcible occupation of land and properties was on a much greater scale than in Dacca or Khulna.

Kendua P.S. Bhagabatipur, Kutubpur, Asajja, Dhansapur, Krishnarampur, Chirang and Noapara.

Purbadhala P.S. Barha, Latumia, Simalkandi, Hagla, Nangaljora, Purbadhala, Ghagra, Baghbar, Guatala and Kalduar.

Nokla P.S. Dhanakusa, Ganapadi, Ariokanda, Nakla and Badagaria.

Mohangunj P.S. Mailara, Daulatpur, Kulputag, Monas, Bhaba, Baram and Khursimal.

Iswargunj P.S. Uchakhali, Gauripur, Duttapara, Maliati, Atharabari, Golukpur, Simrail, Sakuakonapara, Chandpara, Boangaon, Babasthon and Myshbad.

Khaliajuri P.S. Khaliajuri, Bhagatia, Sampur, Kadirpur, Lapsa, Datpur, Magampur, Kulierchar, Hazarinagar, Kalarkandi and Nasirakanda.

Nandail P.S. Ramdi, Maheshkura, Dewangunj and Nandail.

Sherpur P.S. Bakarkanda, Gauripur, Serpur, Mullapara, Koyakuchi, Gopalbari, Kamarchar, Kawabichi, Boirah, Nagpara and Dakalhati.

Phulpur P.S. Sankardabazar, Dhakirkanda, Potipara, Phulpur, Ramnathpur, Bashati, Kajiakanda, Rankanda, Madhupur and Sonai.

Madan P.S. Barari, Kaitail, Barair, Madan, Keryani, Jangaltenga, Jangirpur, Sibasram and Janla.

Itna P.S. Itna, Raji, Dhaki, Moriga, Karancha, Rampur, Keorjore, Dulpur, Dhalargaon, Chochya, Sachua, Kathari and Bishnupur.

Kishorgunj P.S. Mahinanda, Astaborga.

Bashail P.S. Bashail and Mirigpur.

PART III

CHAPTER 9

Sylhet District. The harassment of nature similar to that we have dealt with in the case of Mymensingh had been there for some years past. This became accentuated from early January 1964. There were also the deportees from India whom the authorities had tried to settle in some parts of Sylhet district, which is bounded by Assam on the north as well as east and Tripura on the south. Minorities, speaking generally, were discriminated against in various ways. The discrimination was similar to that we have described in the other parts of East Pakistan. No minority person ever felt that he had the rights as citizen and that he could expect redress even from the courts when the opponent was a Muslim.

In Sylhet, so far as the border areas are concerned, there were organised and determined efforts to drive out the minority communities. These communities were largely Christians.

The organised efforts took the shape of creating a climate of complete insecurity for the minorities and finally of large scale attacks on villages where looting and burning of houses took place. The unfortunate occupants of those houses were driven out in the bitter cold of January 1964, and were told that there was no room for them in Pakistan as Pakistan belonged only to the Muslims.

We shall now deal with the evidence.

Sylhet P. S. Bishnupur. Joy Kishor Das, S-8, says that his boat was stolen. He approached the Chairman of the village council but with no result. He finally came away because of the general lack of security.

Sunamgunj P. S. Sunamgunj town. Kumud Chandra Banik, S-9, says, "Muslims used to threaten us and extort money from us. We were not permitted to have our religious festivals. One day at the end of May 1964, a Muslim, Gada Mia, drove us out from our house. We could get no assistance from the authorities. When we

were fleeing away, we saw a number of dead bodies of Hindus on the way. I, my daughter and my brother-in-law were beaten."

Ballavpur. Kripendra Chandra Bhattacharji, S-10, says that the wife of M. D. was raped by four Muslims and was badly injured. The complaint to the police proved futile. Cows of Sullahamoy Das were taken away by some Muslims during the day time. There was a dacoity in the village.

Jayachandra Das, S-11, says that in April 1964, there were disturbances in the village and houses were looted and burnt by large mobs of Muslims. One woman was abducted in broad day light. He has given the names of the assailants. He also gives the names of the abductors as Handan and Gada, among others, of village Rangarchar.

Similar is the account of S-13.

Bhugla. Sudhir Chandra Barman, S-15, says that there was looting in the village and many houses were burnt. His own house was also looted. This kind of occurrence used to take place very often. The police were contacted but no help came. This happened in the third week of March.

Similar is the account given by S-16 and S-17.

Rajapara. Bahon Chandra Hajong, S-18, says :

"On February 4, 1964, the village was attacked by about 50 Muslims. My house, among others, was burnt and looted."

Similar is the account of S-19, S-20, S-21, S-22 and S-23.

Peshkargaon. Harendra Barman, S-24, says :

"In February 1964, my village and the neighbouring village were attacked by Muslims and they looted and burnt several houses. We approached the police but the police supported the miscreants."

Similar is the account of S-25 and S-26.

Asawara. Saitya Rangan Das, S-27, says that his house was attacked by Muslims and three of his cattle were taken away along with Rs. 500/-. He and his brother were beaten.

Rasu Ray Barman, S-28, says that paddy and money were taken away from his house at 10 a.m. in the morn-

ing in the month of April 1964, and in the next month his cooking utensils, household articles and his cows were forcibly taken away. He was compelled to leave.

Similar statements of attacks on villages which were looted and burnt have been made from witnesses Gasgora, Mullapara, Mahabatpur, Naukakhali, Kathalbari, Carpagram, Kalikapur, Nilpur, Kandigaon and Amargara.

Gauragaon. Rajendra Das, S-47, says that his boat was stolen during the night.

Kalikapur. Naresh Chandra Das, S-46, says that his boat was stolen as also his paddy.

Nabinagar. Sadhu Charan Barman, S-40, says that Muslims behaved in an extremely unpleasant and high-handed manner. When Hindus went out fishing, the boat was attacked and fish were forcibly taken away. They also threatened to take away women.

Isaguri. Khobendra Das, S-39, says that Muslims opposed the performance of religious ceremonies, paddy was forcibly taken away and his house was looted by some persons whose names he has given.

Dharampara P. S. Khalapara. Bhabatosh Barman, S-50, says that a mob of 150 attacked the village, looted cattle, rice, money etc. Some houses were also burnt. He says that police help was sought but the police joined hands with the miscreants.

S-51, S-52, S-53 and S-54 also refer to the attack on the village.

Golba. Ram Krishna Debnath, S-55, says that Kharnoie, Gobindpur and Charnarjani were burnt by Muslims in March 1964. A house in this village was also looted.

Similar are the statements of S-56 to S-65.

Joynagar Kishori Ranjan Barman, S-69, says ;

"In April 1964, Muslims took away cattle from the house of Jaladhar Barman."

Krishna Charan Barman, S-70, says :

"There was looting in my village and many houses in my village, including neighbouring houses, were burnt. In the month of May 1964, the houses of Zalu and Rupchand Barman were attacked. They were beaten up and their properties including 10 cattle were looted."

Anantapur. Sashi Mohan Debnath, S-71, says :

"I was attacked on my way home from the market and all my money was taken away. On May 15, 1964 some houses in my village and neighbouring village were looted and burnt."

Similar is the statement of S-73.

Paikarati. Hirendra Chandra Das, S-74, says that the village was looted and a girl was abducted. He says that police were informed but they took no action.

Similar is the statement of S-75.

Sararkona. Sankar Chandra Sarkar, S-77, says that his village was attacked by a gang of 25 Muslims in April 1964. He says that all his things were looted and so also of his neighbours.

Chhatak P.S. Bashtola. Mukund Barman, S-78, says :

"A large mob of Muslims attacked the village on January 14, 1964 and started beating up the villagers. We had to flee for our lives and crossed over to India, the border being very close."

Similar is the account of S-79 to S-81.

Narendra Chandra Barman, S-82, says that in March 1964, one night, about 30 or 40 miscreats looted his and other houses in the village.

Pasendra Sangma, S-83, says :

"Aslam Mahmmud Hamid and Moharum Ali, both Ansars, told me to leave Pakistan saying that a large number of Muslims are coming over to Pakistan from India and we have got to make room for them."

Mohan Chandra Biswas, S-84, says that two Ansars, Hamid and Yakub, came to his house and forcibly evicted him and his family.

Chawdharipara. Binod Chandra, S-85, mentions the attack on his village on January 14, 1964, when the attackers looted properties and the villagers had to flee.

Similar are the accounts of S-86 to S-94.

Radhanagar. Bashi Ram Mandal, S-96, says that the village was attacked by a large number of Muslims in January 1964. His and other houses were attacked and the assailants assaulted him and others and looted the village.

Ajompur. Prasann Kumar Das, S-98, says that his house was looted and he was badly beaten up on his way to India.

S-99 also corroborates this statement.

Rampur. Kamini Kant Das, S-100, says that Muslims looted and burnt some shops. Many people were assaulted in the market and their belongings were taken away. He says that his house was attacked and his brother-in-law and about 17 others, who were at his place, were assaulted and robbed.

Gandharbapur. Raman Chandra Purkayatha, S-102, says :

"Thefts and looting were very common and so were assaults. Crops were also looted. My son-in-law, Mahendra Mujumdar, was beaten to death."

Similar accounts are given by witnesses from the following villages in this P. S.

Bazargaon, Jeebanpur, Natunnagar, Pratappur, Devergaon, Darabazar, Durgapur, Dohalia, Puthipasi, Labarpara, Jonakhai, Kumna and Bishnupur.

Kamalgunj P. S. Sukhadespur. Sudhir Chandra Barman, S-117, says that in December 1963, a gang of Muslims attacked several houses and looted them. Some persons, three of whom he has named, were injured.

Similar is the statement of S-118.

Riday Chandra Barman, S-119, says that he had taken a fishery in Chutagong for Rs. 35,000/- from the fishery department of Pakistan. Muslims used to catch fish from this fishery. He has given the names of some of the miscreants.

Rampur. Ananth Chandra Barman, S-120, says that his house was looted and his boat was stolen.

Ganga Charan Barman, S-121, says that he was badly assaulted and his boat and paddy were forcibly taken away.

Beheli. Thakurdhan Das, S-122, says that his paddy was harvested by Muslims and his boat was taken away.

Chandpur. Raj Mohan Kogi, S-123, says that several houses in his village were burnt. One of them was burnt during the day.

Rajendra Chandra Sarkar, S-124, had a shop. He says that Muslims used to take articles from his shop

without payment. And when he protested, they threatened to assault him.

Jamlabaj. Rabindra Nath Barman, S-125, says that his land was forcibly occupied by one Balon of village Rajaria in May 1964. He sought police help but no help was given. He was badly assaulted by Muslims who took his paddy worth about Rs. 100/-.

Hariharpur. Rabindra Kumar Roy, S-126, says that in January 1964, he went to gather his harvest, when some Muslims attacked him and beat him up and took away all his crops.

Rajpur. Jogesh Barmnn, S-127, says that his and some other houses in the village were looted by Muslims.

Jagannathpur P. S. Saisani. Bharat Chandra Das, S-130, a fisherman, says that fish from his river was taken by the Muslims who also took away his fishing nets and other articles. Standing crops of paddy was also reaped by Muslims. He reported to the police and the Chairman of the U.B. but instead of heeding his complaint they assaulted him.

Similar is the account given by S-131.

Ralairpara. Ahibhushan Chakrabarti, S-137, says that on May 25, 1964, the village was attacked and many houses were looted. The idol of Kali was broken. He himself was assaulted.

Balagunj P.S. Pyarapur. Labani Mohan Day, S-132, says :

"On April 18, 1964 my uncle had gone to India and his house was occupied by Muslims. A cow was killed and its leg was hung up in front of Kali temple of his aunt."

Similar is the account of S-133.

Dulalpur. Mohindra Kumar Day, S-134, says that on February 10, 1964 a large number of Muslims attacked the village and looted and burnt houses. The police was informed but no help was given.

Binodpur. Hira Charan Das, S-141, says that it was impossible for Hindus to purchase anything in the market because the Muslims created disturbances.

Tahirpur P.S. Mudiagaon. Sandmani Das, S-142, a woman, says that in March 1964 the village was attacked and many houses were looted and burnt.

Barkala. Lal Chand Barman, S-144, says that his land was forcibly occupied in March 1964 by a Muslim. He complained to the police but no action was taken. The houses of one Gopal Das and Pyara Das were looted and burnt.

Similar account is given by S-145.

Joypur. Sukharmay Barman, S-146, says that there was looting and burning of houses in his and neighbouring villages. Looting of paddy and other things had become a regular occurrence.

Dhirai P. S. Anwarpur. Khirod Chandra Barman, S-152, says that on February 28, 1964 a gang of about 40 Muslims attacked some houses. Surendra Barman was cut on the head. Police help was sought but they joined the miscreants.

Kamini Krishna Rai Chaudhari, S-157, says that in July 1964, several Hindu houses, including his own, were looted by Muslims.

Nayagaon. Haripad Sarkar, S-154, says that in April 1964, Khalek, Chairman of Samarson instigated the Muslims against the Hindus and many Hindus were assulted. Some shops were looted and houses damaged. My house was broken into and two bullocks and a large sum of money were taken away.

Rajanagar. Ramdeb Das, S-159, says that in January 1964, a very large number of Muslims attacked his shery and caught fish and took away nets, boat and implements of fishing. They seriously wounded three persons. When they saw them fishing in the river they went to get police help but were refused. The neighbouring village Chandipur was attacked by a few hundred Muslims in February 1964. They looted and burnt 4 houses.

Jakigang P.S. Ratangang. Krishna Chandra Namsudra, S-164, says that the house of his neighbour Chatramani Namsudra was attacked in the month of March 1964. He was assaulted and became senseless. Thereafter his wife was raped by several of them who also inflicted stab wounds on her. "We could not go to their assistance because the assailants were many and armed."

Naukar. Nagendra Namsudra, S-165, says :

"On March 20 or 21, 1964, I had gone to the bazar. At 6.30 p.m. a gang of Muslims raided the village, shouting "Allah ho Akbar". They plundered the Hindu houses and killed number of Hindus."

Biyani Bazar P.S. Kalagram. Nalini Kant Sen, S-196, says that his village was attacked by Muslims and so was his house in the month of July 1964.

Ramshid. Mohan Chandra Dhar, S-217. While we were at the transit camp at Karimgunj on June 27, 1964, this witness came in. His village was about 4 miles from the border. He had crossed over the previous night. We asked him why, since there was not much trouble in Sylhet, he had come and he gave the following account. He was a cultivator owning about 8 Bighas (2⅔ acres) of paddy land. He had six cattle. His cattle were stolen six days previously. He approached the authorities but no help was forthcoming. He said that in his area cattle belonging to Hindus used to be lifted and decoitees in Hindu houses were quite common. He could not take his paddy to the market because there was an economic boycott of the Hindus. Hindus could not buy any thing also. There were 60 Hindu families in his village but they had all come over to India because of total insecurity. He also decided to come over with his wife and a three year old daughter.

Accounts similar to those we have already referred to, have been given by many other witnesses. We shall only give the names of the Police Station areas and the names of the villages.

Nabigunj P. S. Gagannathpur, Bharakona, Baraba Khur, Marod, Alipur.

Salla P.S. Kalli, Dowali, Maurapur, Babibpur.

Ajamirigunj P.S. Kakailchar, Umednagar, Roinnya, Birat.

Moulavi bazar P. S. Bizarpur, Chandpur, Baje Fatehpur, Rampur.

Lakhai P.S. Lakhai, Santoshpur.

Gungiargaon P.S. Adhilyapur, Balanagar, Bijgaon.

Habigunj P.S. Habigunj.

Golupgunj P.S. Dattarail, Kargram, Mohanpur.

Gainighat P.S. Banjangail, Kamaid.

Chittagong District and Chittagong Hill Tracts District

CHAPTER 10

There are other areas in which disturbances directed against non-Muslims have taken place. These areas are Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts with which we have not dealt with separately.

In Chittagong atrocities against non-Muslims, according to the evidence available, have taken place though on a smaller scale. Whenever they have taken place the stories are very similar.

So far as the Chittagong Hill Tracts are concerned they were largely inhabited by Chakmas, a hill people, who are Buddhists. In this area there was very little killing or arson, but the stories of lack of security of property as well as molestation of women were rampant. We interviewed a large number of these in a camp near Silchar in Assam, where about 6000 of them were housed. One of the main reasons for their migration, according to them was the denial of religious freedom. They said that their festivals, which used to be celebrated near their temples, had been prohibited in the months prior to their migration into India. They also complained that they found it very difficult to find seats in the schools for their children. In colleges there was the same difficulty and in the hostels attached to the colleges it was almost impossible for a Chakma to get a place. An educated Chakma got no chance of a job in Governmental institutions or otherwise.

This had been going on for some years previously but after the Hazrat Bal incident it became intensified and the pressure became heavier and they were compelled to leave. As stated elsewhere about 21,000 of Chakmas have arrived in India in 1964.

PART IV

DISTURBANCES IN INDIA

It is now a matter of history that there were no communal disturbances in any part of India prior to January 10, 1964. From about January 5, 1964 started pouring into India an influx of several thousand people per day from East Pakistan. People who had lost their near and dear ones in unprovoked and merciless attacks and people who had been looted of all their possessions and belongings and people who had left the land and houses where they had been born and brought up and which they had at one time loved and cherished.

The authorities in India, and particularly the Government of India and West Bengal could hardly have anticipated such mass migrations of men, women and children who had fled for their lives leaving their next-of-kin butchered or dying and their properties and belongings pilfered or reduced to ashes. Though completely taken unawares and overwhelmed by the problem of receiving daily, thousands of migrants and providing to them medical-aid, food and shelter, the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal took all possible steps to ameliorate the sufferings of the grief-stricken migrants. Among the refugees, there were parents who had lost their sons and daughters and grandchildren, women whose husbands had been butchered before their very eyes, husbands or brothers who had seen their wives and sisters being raped or abducted, children who had lost their parents or whose father had been killed and mother abducted. There were men, women and children who had been injured and still bleeding or whose wounds had not healed. There were women who had not only been deprived of what little ornaments or jewellery they had but of some of the clothes which they were wearing and who entered this country either wholly nude or semi-nude. There were men, women and children who had walked mile after mile, without food or water and who had blisters on their feet rendering them incapable of walking any further. The only reason, they could think of, for these atrocities and suffering was that they had the misfortune of being members of the unwanted minority community, who were being eliminated and driven out and that the government and the authorities in East Pakistan did not care whether they lived or died or left East Pakistan.

The harrowing tales told by these migrants infuriated a certain section of the people in West Bengal and the goondas and hooligans seized upon this for indulging in what came to be known as communal incidents in Calcutta city and in the suburbs.

Later, in March 1964, there were similar incidents in industrial townships of Jamshedpur and Rourkela and a few other places.

Since, however, communal incidents have taken place in Calcutta, Jamshedpur and Rourkela and a few other places in India and there has been loss of life and property, we have considered it necessary to investigate into these incidents as well.

It will be seen from what is stated elsewhere in this report that Government of Pakistan, the President of Pakistan, Cabinet Ministers and politicians and the press in Pakistan did their very best between December 28, 1963 and January 3, 1964 to rouse a mass hysteria against the minority community in East Pakistan and that the large-scale murders, rape, abduction, looting and arson were direct results of such mass hysteria which, when fanned and at its zenith, the Pakistan authorities did nothing or little to put down. On the contrary, even after the find of the Holy Relic the responsible members in the Pakistan Government made fiery speeches doubting the genuineness of the Relic and thereby aggravating a situation which had already taken a vicious turn resulting in the loss of a few thousand precious and innocent lives and rendering more thousands insecure, homeless and destitute.

The Pakistan authorities flatly denied the happenings in Khulna, Mangla Port and other places and adopted the role of advising the Government of India to maintain law and order in India and to protect the minorities when communal incidents took place in Calcutta and its suburbs on January 10, 1964 and on subsequent days.

In glaring contrast to the roles played by the Pakistan authorities and the press of giving provocation for and abetment of the atrocities committed in East Pakistan on helpless minority community, the attitude adopted and the steps taken by the Government of India and the State Governments and the role played by the Indian leaders and the press and the right-thinking citizens speak eloquently of the position of the minority community in India.

Calcutta and West Bengal

On the morning and late night of Friday January 10, 1964 communal incidents occurred in Taltolla, Beniapukur, Entally and Beliaghat police station areas of Calcutta where

stray cases of assault, arson and looting were reported. The police opened fire on five occasions and used 36 rounds of tear-gas.

On the afternoon of January 11, 1964, to aid the civil authorities, the military took positions in different parts of Calcutta. On the same day, an order under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, 1898 was issued banning all processions throughout the city. On the same day, 10·00 p.m. to 5 a.m.) curfew was also clamped down, in the four abovementioned police station areas as also in Amherst Street police station area and in Nadia and to Howrah districts.

The police opened fire on about nine occasions to disperse the crowds at various places and to prevent looting, injuring one of the miscreants.

On January 11, 1944, the military rescued about 100 persons from a house at Adyabagan in Gobra, Calcutta, which was set on fire by miscreants. The people, who were trapped in the house, raised an alarm. An inspector of police, on hearing their shouts, rang up the military to come and rescue these people, which they did. First aid and shelter were given to the rescued persons. Some of the miscreants were also arrested.

The Chief Minister Mr. P.C. Sen, who was in constant touch with the Indian Home Minister Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda in New Delhi, toured the disturbed areas for over two hours. Members of both communities had to be evacuated from certain trouble spots.

On January 11. 1964, six Muslim leaders of West Bengal viz. Mr. Kazim Ali Meerza M.L.A., Mr. Jehangir Kabir, M.L.A., Mr. Ziaul Haque, M.L A., Mr. Mohamed Syed Mian, M.L.C , Mr. Karam Hossain M L.A. and Mr. T.M. Zarif issued a statement condemning the oppression on the minority community in East Pakistan and expressing hope that the people and the Government of East Pakistan would immediately arrange to stop the communal orgy. They said :—

> "We cannot find language strong enough to condemn the oppression on the minority communities which has occurred in some places of East Pakistan on the plea of the reprehensible act committed in far away Kashmir".
>
> "Those responsible for the theft of Hazrat Muhammad's sacred relic in Kashmir have been condemned by everyone in India as well as in the wholeworld. Kashmiris as well as Indians of all communities irrespective of their being Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs have strongly condemned this act, have condoled it and have observed combined Hartal for it".

"We, who belong to the Muslim minority community in India have been living peacefully with equal opportunities and privileges........"

On January 11, 1964, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Indian Home Minister, who was constantly in touch with the Chief Minister of West Bengal, issued a statement saying, inter alia :

"We must be calm and maintain our balance and assist in safeguarding the rights, and life and property of all our citizens regardless of any provocations from elsewhere which may have stirred them.

Serious tension has arisen in certain areas of West Bengal consequent on communal incidents leave in East Pakistan involving loss of life and property to the minority community in East Pakistan. This has given rise to incidents in West Bengal in which loss of life and property has occurred.

The West Bengal Government has taken prompt and firm measures and will continue to take all actions necessary to put an end to the activities of hooligans and lawless elements".

× ×

"We are determined to give the fullest protection to all citizens and we will not hesitate to take any stern measures required to give the fullest protection to life and property and ensure the fullest freedom for all citizens.

They must function as responsible citizens in accordance with the principles of our secular state guaranteed in the Constitution. Recourse to violence will not help anyone and will only enlarge the sphere of conflict and bitterness and expose innocent people to risk an injury and cause sufferings and misery to large sections of the community.

May I also appeal to the press to use their influence for the restoration of peace and goodwill ?"

It is pertinent to point out that on January 11, 1964, the Union Education Minister Mahomedali C. Chagla was in Calcutta and had addressed a gathering of newsmen.

On January 12, 1964 the press in India and particularly in Calcutta came out with editorials such as the following :—

"It is easy to get excited over the happenings in Khulna-Jessore in East Pakistan where the Hindus have been subjected to all sorts of indignities and oppression. But time has come to seriously ponder if this helps them in any way. Retaliation and a policy of hostages can be practised, with commendable ease by the Pakistanis as well, which will make the position of Hindus over there altogether intolerable. Also, such a policy will tarnish the good name of India which is a secular democratic state, perhaps a lone example in this part of the world. Only when every citizen, even the lowliest of the lowly irrespective of community and caste, is safe here, we shall be able to retain the moral right to criticise Pakistan for deliberately practising a policy of squeezing out Hindus from there."

On January 12, 1964, the Government of India appointed one of their top officials, Mr. Govind Narain, to act as a liaison officer between the Central Government and West Bengal Government during the period of disturbances and tension in West Bengal, with his headquarters at Calcutta.

On the morning of January 12, 1964 the Chief Minister accompanied by the state Labour Minister and police officials toured the affected areas.

On January 12, 1964 the Union Education Minister Mr. M. C. Chagla delivered his convocation address at Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

On January 12, 1964 army troops took over complete control of the affected areas in Calcutta. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Home Minister also flew into Calcutta to study the situation at first hand. He conferred with the Chief Minister at the control room at Lalbazar and later, accompanied by the Union Law Minister Mr. A.K. Sen, West Bengal Chief Minister P. C. Sen, West Bengal Finance Minister Mr. S. K. Mukherjee and Police Commissioner Mr. S.M Gosh toured the disturbed areas for nearly two hours.

On January 12, 1964, Mr. Nanda expressed the hope that political parties in West Bengal would come out to exert themselves for the restoration of peace. He stated that the government would give them every support and facility. Mr. Nanda also stated that those who were indulging in hooliganism in the name of Hinduism were the greatest enemies of Hindus.

On January 12, 1964, a round the clock curfew (except for 7.00 a. m. to 9 a. m. in the morning) was clamped down in Beliaghata, Entally and Beniapukur police station areas. A dusk to dawn curfew was continued in Taltolla, Amherst Street, Karaya, Jorasanko, Bowbazar, Park Street and Maniktolla police station areas.

By the night of January 12, 1964, over 2000 persons had been arrested and detained by the police.

In a statement, on the night of January 12, 1964 Mr. Nanda said :

"Every Muslim life is sacred to us. For the life of a single Muslim the whole force will be mobilised, if necessary".

He said that the Government would not allow a few thousand hooligans to take law into their own hands. He added that whilst dealing with the situation, the authorities would show no tenderness nor mercy to the miscreants. He announced that the Government would see to it that none profited by the vacant lands and property of the Muslim evacuees and that for ensuring this, if need be, suitable legislation would be enacted.

The relief department of the state of West Bengal took prompt steps for finding food and shelter for nearly 50,000 people, of both communities, who had been evacuated.

On January 13, 1964, the situation improved in the curfew-bound police station areas but disturbances spread to parts hitherto unaffected. Several cases of arson and police firing were reported from Ekbalpore, Watgunj and Burrabazar areas. Curfew was, accordingly, extended to these as well as two other areas.

On January 13, 1964, the West Bengal Government announced its decision to promulgate an ordinance, outlawing forcible occupation of bustees of Muslim evacuees and imposing punitive taxes in disturbed areas.

Miss Padmaja Naidu, the Governor of West Bengal placed eight rooms in the Raj Bhavan (Governor's residence) at the disposal of the State's Rehabilitation Minister Miss Abha Maiti for giving shelter to the homeless.

On January 13, 1964, through the efforts of the Union Home Minister Mr. Nanda, a meeting of the leaders and representatives of various political parties and organizations in West Bengal was held in the morning and in the afternoon. It was attended, among others, by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Home Minister, Mr. A.K. Sen, Union Law Minister, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, and other important members of the Government, and M. Ps., M. L. As., and M. L. Cs. As a result of the discussions and deliberations in the meeting, the following appeal was issued :

"During the last four days the life of Calcutta and some other parts of West Bengal has been disturbed because of arson and looting that have occurred. There has been some loss of life also. There is no doubt that

these are tragic reactions of the recent incidents in East Pakistan. While aware that grave provocation has come from Pakistan, we beg of our people to realise that the wrongs committed by Pakistan cannot be undone by acts of hooliganism directed against the minorities in India. It is the firm resolve of all sections of our people, irrespective of party creed or belief, to put down such hooliganism with a firm hand and to give the utmost protection to the lives and properties of our minority communities.

We, therefore appeal to our people to take the lead in preventing any further senseless happenings which might tarnish our fair name, keeping in view the great future which we are building up together for the nation. Let us all join together to repair the damage that has been done and to restore a life of dignity and peace for all communities in our country.

Towards this end, representatives of various parties and organization met this morning, as also in the afternoon, and have set up two committees, namely (a) a Central Committee for Peace and Vigilance and (b) a Central Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation. Both the committees have started functioning and two working committees appertaining thereto have also been set up. It will be the duty of the peace and vigilance committee to organise peace squads and enlist public cooperation in every way for maintaining peace and preventing further outbreaks of violence.

We appeal to everybody to give the fullest cooperation to these committees for providing relief, for combating anti-social activities, and ensuring peace. The Central Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation of which the Minister for Relief herself is the convener, will look after speedy relief and rehabilitation of those affected by the recent disturbances. It is of utmost importance that those who have been displaced are rehabilitated as speedily as possible."

We might add that the other committee, with the Mayor of Calcutta Mr. Chatterjee as convener, was to attend to the work of securing people's participation in restoring peace.

On January 14, 1964, the army took over from the police, the Garden Reach, Watgunge and Ekbalpore police station areas.

On January 14, 1964, there was considerable improvement in the situation and the hours of curfew were reduced from 5 p.m. to 7 a.m. However 6-00 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was imposed in Dum Dum, Titagarh, Barrackpore, Jagatdal Naihati and Bijpur police station areas.

Miss Padmaja Naidu, the Governor, offered a portion of her kitchen at Raj Bhavan to the women's branch of the West Bengal Citizen's Council for cooking food for 2000 displaced persons.

On January 14, 1964, the Calcutta Peace Committee, which was composed of prominent Calcutta citizens, formed three zonal peace committees for central, south and north Calcutta. A similar peace committee was formed for Hooghly District.

In the course of his broadcast on the evening of January 14, 1964, the Chief Minister Mr. P.C. Sen said :

> "That although there was provocation from Pakistan the disturbances in West Bengal were mostly created by hooligans who were neither Muslims nor Hindus."

Mr. Nanda said that as a result of police action 41 people died in the state, 36 of them in Calcutta. He said that nine of them were Muslims and the rest non-Muslims. According to him, 169 were injured because of police action, and the large majority of them were Hindus. The Home Miniter said that because of the stern action taken, over 7,000 persons had been arrested in Calcutta city alone. Almost all the arrested were non-Muslims.

Whilst addressing the press on the night of January 14, 1964, the West Bengal Chief Minister Mr. Sen said :

> "I would personally like to appeal to all communities to help the Government in restoring normal conditions. Unfortunately, I have observed that in certain areas the attitude of certain communities was most unhelpful and in some cases I could see traces of arrogance. This attitude cannot lead to cordiality and goodwill. I am sure after what has happened in the city better sense will prevail. We have done all that was possible and we will continue to take every step necessary to restore normal condition in the quickest time. But the ultimate effectiveness of all such actions will come from the people's own moral strength and co-operation with the authorities. With the majority of the citizens determined to restore normal conditions I am sure we will succeed in our efforts. This is no occasion to think of what may have happened on the other side of our borders. These are major international issues which can be handled in a suitable manner at its proper level. Retaliation is no answer to any action. It can only create problems worse in magnitude."

On January 14, 1964, the District Magistrate of Nadia imposed heavy punitive taxes in the disturbed areas within the police stations of Tehatta, Kotwali, Santipur, Ranaghat,

Chakdah and Haringhata. The Block Development Officers of the respective areas were asked to assess the damages after collecting petitions from individual victims. The total assessment of the punitive tax in a particular area being the total loss suffered by the victims.

On January 14, 1964, Mr. Atulya Ghosh M.P. and West Bengal Congress leader issued the following statement :

> "The recent tragic incidents in Khulna and Jessore districts of East Pakistan have provoked excitable persons in Calcutta and some other places to resort to activities which have disturbed peace and tranquillity here. We must all remember that we cannot achieve our aim or help the minorities in East Pakistan by retaliatory activities on minorities here. This will not only endanger the fame which India has achieved in the international field as a secular state but will also destroy the sanctity of our Constitution guaranteeing equal rights to our people irrespective of caste or creed. I, therefore, request all right-thinking citizens to come forward and help in keeping alive the fair name of India.
>
> The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee has undertaken relief work on an extensive scale to help those of our unfortunate people who have been displaced and otherwise affected by these unhappy incidents. For the purpose money and material is urgently required in sufficient quantity. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to our generous-minded citizens to send immediately money and relief articles such as rice, chuda, gur, dal, clothes, blankets, medicine, etc. to the "Congress Bhawan". 59-B Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-20".

The figures of casualties in the disturbances in Calcutta and its Districts as at midnight of January 14, 1964 were :
163 killed, 622 injured; the break-up being as follows :

	KILLED=163	Hindus	Muslims	Unknown
Riots—Calcutta	52	15	19	18
,, —Districts	70	12	58	—
Police Action-Calcutta	36	19	7	10
,, ,,—Districts	5	3	2	—
Total :	163=	49+	86+	28
	INJURED=622			
Riots—Calcutta	325	106	209	10
,, —Districts	128	17	111	—
Police Action-Calcutta	153	81	70	2
,, ,,—Districts	16	14	2	—
Total	622	218	+392	+12

In the early morning of January 15, 1964 the Calcutta police raided the Chhoti Masjid in J. K. Gosh Road (under Manicktolla police station) and recovered one six-chamber revolver, two pipe-guns, one country-made pistol, 62 rounds of live cartridges, about 300 grams of arsenic sulphur, about 150 grams of potassium chlorate and one chopper.

In the course of Wednesday January 15, 1964, no fewer than 87,610 members of the minority community in Calcutta received a weeks' rice ration on the basis of 340 grams of rice per adult per day.

On January 15, 1964, the Governor Miss Naidu, started "the Governor's Relief Fund" for aid to and relief of the fected members of the minority community. Whilst announcing this fund, the Governor said :—

> "It is a matter of shame and sorrow that some people should have chosen to imitate the very methods that we condemn. India is a secular state based on the traditions and civilisation of centuries and we have constitution which grants freedom to every citizen to follow his own chosen way of life, thought and worship. Such incidents occurring anywhere in India lower our prestige.
>
> As a result of these incidents innocent lives have been lost. Many have suffered injuries and a few thousands have been displaced from their homes. What is more tragic is that their faith in themselves and in their fellow men has been shaken."

By January 15, 1964, overall situation in Calcutta recorded further improvement, as indicated by the mass return on that day of riot affected Muslim evacues to their homes. Muslim ladies, in burkha, were also seen moving about freely in the streets.

By January 15, 1964, 3473 persons had been arrested and detained in Calcutta city alone. The number in the districts totalled 4500.

On January 15, 1964, the Chief Minister of West Bengal stated that, as a result of the incidents in Nadia and 24 Parganas 5271 Indian Muslims had gone over to East Pakistan. As against this, Pakistan Radio claimed that the number was 1,05,000.

On January 16, 1964 nearly 30,000 citizens of Calcutta joined a peacemarch organised by the Central Peace Committee. The Chief Minister Mr. Sen and the Mayor of Calcutta also took part in this peacemarch. The procession also included, members of the State Legislature, trade unionists politicians, educationists and writers.

On January 16, 1964 notwithstanding reports of communal disturbances of a very serious nature in Narayangunj and Dacca since January 14, and 15, 1964 and of heavy casualties among the minority community there, the situation in Calcutta, which had improved tremendously was not affected.

On January 16, 1964 the Governor of West Bengal promulgated an ordinance "to provide for the speedy rehabilitation of people affected by disturbances, commotion, violence or arson".

On January 17, 1964, the West Bengal Government imposed punitive tax on the inhabitants of the disturbed areas under the 14 undermentioned police stations in 24 Parganas : viz. (1) Bongaon, (2) Bogdah, (3) Gaighata, (4) Baraset, (5) Habra, (6) Deganga, (7) Basirhat, (8) Sarupnagar, (9) Dum-Dum, (10) Baranagar, (1.) Belgharia, (12) Jadavpur, (13) Maheshiala and (14) Sonarpur.

On January 16, 1964, Mr. Shamsuddin, the Kashmir Premier announced at a public meeting that his Government would contribute Rs. 50,000/- for providing relief to the victims of the disturbances in West Bengal. Similarly, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra announced that 5000 blankets, 5000 saris and 5000 dhotis would be dispatched to West Bengal for relief of the people affected by the disturbances in West Bengal.

On January 18, 1964, the army handed back control of three areas viz. Watganj, Ekbalpur and Garden Reach to the police. Over 10,000 evacuees returned to their homes by the end of this day.

On January 21, 1964 the Chief Minister of West Bengal issued a statement saying that the situation in Calcutta had completely returned to normal.

On January 18, 1964, the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting Mr. Satya Narain, in a statement, appealed to the press, both in India and Pakistan, to abjure the use of inflammatory language and co-operate with the Government in restoring peaceful conditions. He said :

> "I am glad to know that situation in Calcutta has returned to normal. Everyone in this country, whatever his political affiliations or religious faith, would condemn disturbances of this nature, and the government of India rightly took prompt action to restore law and order in the disturbed area, performing its primary duty of protecting the life and property of every citizen in this country.
>
> During this regrettable episode and also during what happened in East Bengal, the press in India, I am happy to say, has acted with admirable restraint and kept up its

tradition of unbiased public service and undaunted opposition to anti-social activities. This is all the more praiseworthy because the Indian press has had a certain amount of provocation from its counterpart across the border.

Killing of human beings for political or religious ends is insensate and outrageous.

Recurrence of such ugly incidents on either side of the border is a continuous blot on our countries. We must, therefore, make it our sacred duty to protect the life, property and honour of minority communities who have a right to live as equal citizens.

In the discharge of this duty, the press can play a vital role by refraining from writings which are likely to enflame communal passions.

I, in the interests of neighbourly relations and good life, would appeal to the press both in India and Pakistan, to abjure the use of inflammatory language and co-operate with the Governments in restoring peaceful conditions in which minority communities could be ensured a free from fear life. This will be true to our highest traditions".

On January 19, 1964, Maulana Mohd. Umer Kamal Al-Madani, Pesh Imam (chief priest) of Nakhuda Mosque, Calcutta, issued a statement saying :

"All right-thinking men will deplore the recent tragic events in Khulna and Jessore in East Pakistan and their repercussions in Calcutta and its suburbs and also in other parts of West Bengal.

I am grateful to the government of West Bengal and the military authorities for the prompt, firm and effective steps they have taken to bring the situation under control, as a result of which the situation has greatly improved.

But what about the future ? I, in the name of humanity, earnestly appeal to the Governments of Pakistan and India to provide full protection to the minority communities in both countries and to ensure all possible measures to prevent recurrence of such tragic events in future.

I also appeal to the press in Pakistan and West Bengal to avoid the publication and comments of such news which cause tension, panic and repercussions; and thus to contribute effectively in promoting harmony and goodwill in both countries.

I hope my appeal will not fall on deaf ears."

According to the assessment of the casualties in the disturbances in Calcutta, the total figure on January 19, 1964 was 104 of whom 39 were as a result of police firings. The number of injured in Calcutta city by the same date was 562 of whom 170 were consequent upon police firing.

Till January 19, 1964, 4135 Hindus and 364 Muslims had been arrested on specific charges. Besides these, as a preventive measure 3230 Hindus and 407 Muslims had been detained.

On January 19, 1964, 4000, more evacuees returned to their homes.

On January 20, 1964, another 5000 evacuees returned to their homes.

Out of 900 and odd Hindu evacuees, about 650 were living in relief camps.

The West Bengal police raided a large number of places and recovered goods and property of all kinds which was said to be looted during the disturbances.

The police and Magistrates' courts in the city and Districts were throughout kept busy, as the arrested persons were being produced for orders of remand and trial.

Since the outbreak of the disturbances, apart from taking immediate steps to evacuate people from the disturbed areas and to provide them with food and shelter, the problem which had engaged the attention of the Government was that of resettling the evacuees, whose homes had been destroyed by fire or vandalism. Apart from 1000 tenements in Maniktala and Cassipore offered by the Minister for Housing, West Bengal, the Calcutta Improvement Trust also came forward with the offer of a large number of newly built tenements.

The Relief and Rehabilitation Department of the West Bengal Government agreed to grant upto Rs. 400/- for rebuilding their bustee huts per family of the evacuees. In response to the Relief Minister's demand for a grant, Rs. 30,00,000/- were tentatively placed at her disposal.

A special cell under the Directorate of Industries was created by the West Bengal Government to deal with application for financial assistance from industrial units which had suffered during the disturbances.

On February 15, 1964, the authorities in Calcutta had made special arrangements to enable the Muslims to congregate at public places for prayers. Thousands of Muslims congregated at different mosques and public places to offer prayers. The Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta Mr. Ziauddin

Ahmed and his secretary Mr. Nasim Ali Mirza participated in the prayers. The main prayer was held at the city's principal place of Muslim worship viz Nakhoda Mosque where over 30,000 people had assembled. A mass prayer meeting was also held on the Calcutta Maidan were Maulana Shaikh Saleh Abdul Mudul Misri, Naib Imam of Nakhoda Mosque, conducted the prayers. The Chief Minister Mr. Sen attended this meeting and told the gathering that universal brotherhood, unity and peace should be the only message on this sacred occasion. He hoped that all people would live in harmony.

On February 16, 1964 one S. M. Salauddin Khan, a Calcutta Corporation Councillor, and his brother were arrested in the Beniapukur area of Calcutta under the Defence of India Rules for indulging in anti-national activities. Whilst effecting this arrest, the police were attacked by a crowd of muslims, who tried to rescue the two arrested men. A constable and the driver of the car, in which the two arrested persons were being taken away, were injured and later admitted to hospital. The police later arrested 20 persons on charges of rioting and for obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty. 16 other persons were also arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules for indulging in anti-national activity.

On February 16, 1964, in exercise of the powers under Defence of India Rules, one Maulana Wasim Ahmed who was a resident of Badauni in the State of Uttar Pradesh and who was indulging in anti-national activity was externed from West Bengal to Uttar Pradesh.

On February 19, 1964 Jang, Karachi headlined a PPA news item in the following words :—

> **"Police open fire on Namazis on Id Day in Calcutta Leading Ulema and many Others Arrested :
> Maulana Wasim Exiled :**

Inspite of full investigation, we have come across no case of police firing on Namazis on Id Day in Calcutta. This news item published by Jang, Karachi, we are satisfied, is false.

We are satisfied that the latter part of the above quoted news item in Jang, Karachi, is misleading, mischievous and provocative.

On the other hand, we have come across an incident wherein an organised mob of about 1000 Muslims had attacked a police party which was discharging its duty.

On February 17, 1964 during a debate in Parliament, Mr. Syed Badruddoja M.P. (Independent Member from West Bengal drew a pathetic picture of what had happened to the

minority community in Calcutta and the surrounding areas However, he praised the Union Home Minister Mr. Nanda for his stern action to control the situation. He was also full of praise for what the saner elements among the Bengalis, Marwaris and Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs had done to protect the Muslims and to provide relief for the sufferers.

Speaking in Lok Sabha on February 19, 1964 the Union Home Minister Mr. Nanda said that whatever the provocation from Pakistan, India must maintain communal harmony and peace. He added that there were certain undesirable elements who could not and would not be allowed a free hand to do mischief. He said that in West Bengal, the Muslims had not started the trouble but had "fought back", though in a few places they had taken an "aggressive part".

After the prompt and able handling of the situation in West Bengal, by the central government and the West Bengal Government in January 1964, despite reports of continuing oppression of the minorities in East Pakistan and their unabated exodus into India through border areas of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, no untoward incidents happened in India until the later half of March 1964. It was impossible for the Government of West Bengal to rehabilitate the vast majority of the Bengalee speaking migrants who were pouring in daily (about 2500 to 3500) into West Bengal from across the East Pakistan border and the Government of India and the various state Government set up refugee camps in other parts of India, one of such camps being situated at Mana near Raipur (in the State of Madhya Pradesh). What was being done was that all refugees, once they had entered India from East Pakistan at the West Bengal border, were looked after for a day or two at temporary camps at Gende, Hasanabad, Hingalganj, Petrapole etc. and then they were sent to Sealdah or Howrah. From Sealdah and Howrah special refugee trains were run daily to carry the migrants to Raipur in Madhya Pradesh (a distance of 830 Kilometres) and other centres in other states where refugee camps and colonies had been set up.

The influx of refugees from East Pakistan kept mounting up day by day.

During March 12—14, 1964 alone, the daily average of arrivals of refugees in West Bengal through Gede, Petrapole and Hasanabad was a little over 3,000 persons. On March 13, 1964, 1,900 refugees left Calcutta for Dandakaranya. The number of those who left on March 14, 1964 was 1,650 ; besides, there were 1,000 each still waiting for transport at Gede, Petrapole and Hasanabad.

On March 14, 1964 about 1,100 migrants left Hasanabad for Howrah in the 'refugee special train.' But by afternoon, more than 1,200 men, women and children reached Hasanabad from beyond the border and nearly 400 had crossed into Hingalganj by crossing the river. Most of these migrants stated that they had been harassed and tortured by Pakistani police and by the majority community.

A committee called "Save Pakistan Minorities Committee" gave a call for observing "hartal" all over West Bengal on Tuesday March 17, 1964. This call was given in protest against the "Callous and indifferent attitude" of the Government of India and of the West Bengal State Government in regard to the safety and security of the minorities in East Pakistan. This committee demanded immediate, safe and honourable migration of minorities from East Pakistan.

The West Bengal Government, whilst not banning the hartal, claimed to have taken precautionary measures to maintain peace during the period of "hartal". It said that elaborate police arrangements would be made to maintain law and order and that pickets would be posted at important street crossings and mobile squads would patrol the city and that rowdism would not be allowed and stern measures would be taken against rowdy elements.

The Working Committee of the West Bengal Pradesh National Trade Union Congress passed a resolution describing the move for the Hartal as inopportune and that it might defeat the objectives in view and further called upon its affiliates in particular and the working class in general to strive to maintain peace and not to act in any manner which might damage the interests of the minorities of Pakistan for whose interest the proposed Hartal was intended.

We could not agree more with this resolution and in our opinion the call for bartal was totally ill advised. In our opinion in a situation of this nature, the appropriate authority to deal with it is the Government of India and public agitation defeats its very purpose. Situation like the large migration of non-Muslims from East Pakistan, undoubtedly arouse public indignation but indignation would help to prevent neither the atrocities nor the consequent migration.

However, on the night of March 16, 1964, the day prior to the date of the proposed "hartal", a crowd attacked about 100 Muslim textile workers in Belghoria. Thirteen people were killed on the spot and 7 more died later in hospitals bringing the total death roll to 20. The injuries on these unfortunate victims disclosed that sharp cutting weapons like knives, daggers and swords had been used. In this incident 40 more persons

were also slightly injured. The police arrived on the scene nearly two hours after the occurrence. Police pickets followed soon thereafter but, by then, the harm had already been done.

On March 17, 1964, life in Calcutta and suburbs was paralysed as a result of the hartal. A few hundred people staged a demonstration in front of the residence of the state Relief Minister Miss Maiti. They also submitted a memorandum demanding, among other things, recovery of women belonging to minority community and abducted and left behind in East Pakistan.

There was a cracker explosion in Christopher Road of Beniapukur area but none was injured.

Some college students, to show their indignation against supposed Government inaction, burnt an effigy of the Chief Minister Mr. Sen.

On March 18, 1964, members of West Bengal Assembly condemned in unequivocal terms the unfortunate incident in Balgharia and asked the Chief Minister to bring to book the culprits who had got away with this dastardly attack. The Chief Minister Mr. Sen agreed that those who had committed this crime could not be friends of the minority community in East Pakistan. During investigations in connection with this incident, as many as 33 persons were arrested.

On March 19, 1964, sixteen non-political Muslim organisations of West Bengal made an appeal to His Holiness the Sheikhul-Azhar of Cairo, H.H. Grand Mufti of Palestine and H.H. the Mufti of Saudi Arabia. In this appeal, they requested these Divines to issue a "fatawa" against Pakistan for stopping further atrocities on the minorities in Pakistan and for exposing the hollowness of the repeated cries of 'Jehad' from Pakistan. According to them, Jehad was only reserved for the protection of 3 holy places in Arabia and not for Kashmir or for any other purpose which had nothing to do with Islam.

In justification of their appeal the signatories state :

> "According to the fundamental principles of Islam the "Zimmis" (The non-Muslim citizens of an Islamic state) cannot be tortured or victimised either by the Government or by the people of an Islamic State and if a non-Muslim is killed by a Muslim the Government must hang the killer or a compensation of at least Rs. 10,000 shall be paid to the heirs and successors of the non-Muslim victim with the consent of the heirs of the non-Muslim victim.

But the so-called Muslim rulers of Pakistan have openly violated the orders of Quran and Hadis of our Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (Be peace on him) by committing atrocities on the unarmed and helpless minorities of East Pakistan.

In the 1,400-year-old history of Islam during the reign of Umayyads, the Abbasides and the great Ottoman Empire, no Muslim emperor (The titular Caliphs) had ever openly dared to go against the basic principles of Islam with the only exception of one "Yazeed the black-hearted" who was responsible for a general massacre and annihilation of the House of Prophet Mohammad at the desert of Karbala in Moharram 670 A.D. and after 1,400 years the present so-called Muslim rulers of Pakistan have added a second black chapter in the history of Islam by oppressing and suppressing the minorities of East Pakistan with a view to pleasing the dirty soul of "Yazeed the black-hearted of Arabia and most probably there must be so many descendents of "Yazeed" among the ruling janta of Pakistan.

Now it is revealed that not only the Hindus and the Christians, but the Snia Muslims, the Qadyani Muslims and a majority of the Bengalee-speaking Muslims are also oppressed, depressed and suppressed by unfair and inhuman means in Pakistan. In the year 1963, near about 100 Shia Muslims were burnt alive in an "Imam Bara" while they were performing their religious rites and still the Muslims of Ahle Hadis Sect and Ahmadi Sect feel themselves unsafe and insecure in the present reign of terror in Pakistan.

Now there are 27 independent autocratic and democratic states of Islam in the world with a population of 60 crores of Muslims and 5 crores of non-Muslims but nowhere the minorities are ill-treated (except in Pakistan). Egypt, U.A.R. is the headquarter of Islamic teachings and research workers and a land of more than 5 lakhs maulanas, allamas, maulavees and religious preachers where Colonel Nasser, the President of U.A.R., is leading the life of a true Muslim in a humble cottage (not in the Royal Palace of Dastrel Abdeen) in accordance with the principle of the simplicity of Islam. No call for any holy crusade, 'Jehad' is acceptable to the Islamic world without the consent of the "Muftees" of Egypt. When Egypt joined the third holy crusade in Palestine in 1948 A.D. with all the Islamic countries of the Middle East, with the exception of Pakistan, the life and properties of all the minorities were fully protected in Egypt and not a single non-Muslim was killed in cold blood by the Egyptian Muslims.

Pakistan rulers should bow down their heads and should pray to "Allah" with their folded hands to request him to forgive them for their inhuman atrocities committed on the non-Muslims of Pakistan, otherwise they are destined to go to hell after the doomsday."

As stated earlier the special refugee trains would pass through Tatanagar (Jamshedpur) in the state of Bihar, Rourkela, Jharsuguda and Brajrajnagar in the state of Orissa and Raigarh in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The distance from Howrah to Tatanagar (Jamshedpur) being 250 Kilometres, to Rourkela being 415 Kilometres and to Raigarh being 585 Kilometres the refugee trains used to make short halts at Tatanagar (Jamshedpur), Rourkela and Raigarh Stations and very often local citizens of these places took food to these stations for feeding the Refugees.

Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh

In the early hours of January 19, 1964 there was sudden outbreak of communal violence in Raigarh town. In this, nine members of the minority community lost their lives and several more got injured before the police came on the scene. There were a few cases of arson as well. On their arrival, the police evacuated the members of the minority community from the affected areas and accommodated them in the police station premises. The Deputy Inspector General of Police, Eastern Range and the Commissioner of Police, Bilaspur Division, rushed to Raigarh with a large armed police force. Curfew was clamped down and an order prohibiting assembly of more than 4 persons or carrying of weapons was issued. Home guards were also summoned to help prevent re-currence of troubles. The Madhya Pradesh state Government also issued, immediately, an appeal to the people to remain calm and to refrain from any action that might aggravate the situation. There were no further incidents in Raigarh.

Jamshedpur in Bihar

On the afternoon of March 19, 1964 a crowd of about 400 persons was returning from the Tatanagar railway station, after seeing off several batches of East Pakistan refugees proceeding to Dandakaranya from Howrah through Tatanagar station. Some members of this crowd attempted to set fire to wayside shops but the police arrived on the scene in time and averted mischief. A section of the crowd then attacked the police party by hurling stones and brickbats resulting in injury to three persons including a sub-inspector of police.

Later the same day, a crowd of about 50 persons set fire to four wayside shops in Burma Mines Bazar area. The police arrested about half a dozen miscreants on the spot. There was a lot of tension in the township but no case of assault had taken place.

On March 20, 1964, there were some cases of assault on the minority community as a result of which six persons died and several others were injured. The trouble spots were the suburbs of Adityapur and Jugsalai.

There were also stray cases of incendiarism and looting. Earlier a mob of about 1000 attempted to raid the Tata-Patna train at Tatanagar station.

On March 20, 1964, an eight hour curfew from 9.00 p.m. to 5.00 a.m. was imposed. This was to continue until March 22, 1964. An order prohibiting, during the next fortnight, assembly of more than 4 persons or carrying of weapons was also issued.

The casualty list until 2.00 a. m. on March 21, 1964 was 31 killed and 21 injured in stray stabbing incidents.

By March 21, 1964, the trouble had also spread to other localities of Jamshedpur town viz. Kasidih, Bhalubasra, Bagbera and Karnandih. One person died and some others were injured in police firings in Kasidih, Bhalubasra, Bagbera and Karnandih areas of Jamshedpur.

Mob frenzy was at its peak on this day.

By 6.00 p.m. on March 21, 1964, the death-roll in Jamshedpur was 55. One among these was as a result of police firing.

Intensive Magisterial and police patrolling of street and armed pickets at strategic points helped to halt further casualties and damage. 261 miscreants were arrested and detained.

On March 21, 1964 afternoon the Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay and the Education Minister Mr. Satendra Narain Sinha rushed to Jamshedpur. They were accompanied by the Chief Secretary, the Inspector General of Police, and Dy. I.G. of Police.

Most of the members of the minority community numbering about 30000 to 36000 were evacuated and given shelter in two big camps in safer areas and in the premises of schools and cinema houses numbering about 15.

The army was summoned to assist the civil authorities and arrived by the midnight of March 21/22, 1964.

The city was calm after the midday of March 22, 1964. By this time, the death-roll was 67, and the number of injured was 47.

The Chief Minister Mr. Sahay and the Education Minister Mr. Sinha camped in Jamshedpur from March 21 to 24, 1964 on which latter date they left for Patna. During their stay, they guided and supervised the arrangements for restoring law

and order and for affording relief and resettling the minority community who had been evacuated to safe places.

Mr. Nanda, the Union Home Minister accompanied by Mr. S. P. Singh, special secretary in the Union Home Ministry came to Jamshedpur on March 25, 1964 and stayed on for two days.

On March 25, 1964, Mr. Nanda addressed a public meeting where he stressed the need of taking organized social action to fight the evil of communalism.

On March 27, 1964, a committee called "The Jamshedpur Citizens' Peace Committee" consisting of the representatives of all sections of the community and all shades of public opinion. was formed. The committee, which consisted of 78 members, was charged with the expeditious and effective discharge of the following tasks :—

(i) ensuring adequate arrangements regarding food, clothing, medical aid and sanitation in the camps where nearly 36,000 evacuees consisting of men, women and children had taken shelter ;

(ii) restoring the traditional atmosphere of amity and goodwill amongst different communities living in Jamshedpur and its suburban areas ;

(iii) creating conditions of normalcy and confidence both in the factories and at the homes for the early return of evacuees to their respective work-places and homes ;

(iv) arranging to help the sufferers restart their normal vocation and life as early as possible ; and

(v) maintaining a close liaison with the government for ensuring adequate security measures in all the areas.

This Citizens' Committee appointed a Standing Committee of 27 persons for carrying out the day to day working of the Citizens' Committee.

Sarvodaya leader, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, visited Jamshedpur and addressed six largely attended meetings in different parts of Jamshedpur which helped in toning up the morale of the people and in creating an atmosphere congenial for restoration of confidence.

This Citizens' Committee collected and spent over Rs. 3 67,406/- on food, clothing, utensils, medical relief, water supply, health and sanitation etc.

The major industrial concerns in Jamshedpur paid to their 6500 to 7000 Muslim workmen, basic wages and dearness allowance amounting to over Rs, 683000/- for the entire period of their absence from work during the period of disturbances.

The industrial concerns contributed a further sum of about Rs. 34000/- for reconstructing the bustee houses of their muslim employees. Similar assistance was given by the government to the owners of houses in the bustees outside the areas of the industrial concerns.

The industrial concerns also undertook to have their labour quarters, damaged during the disturbances, quickly repaired at their cost. Similar action was taken by government in respect of government quarters in Adityapur and Baghbera.

The industrial concerns in Jamshedpur organised a fund known as the Jamshedpur Companies' Relief Fund to meet the immediate and long term requirements of rehabilitation of affected Muslim families. Besides spending Rs. 34,773/- on requirements of food, clothes and utensils, the Fund spent Rs. 6,12,634/- on making grants to individuals to help them in rehabilitation, making a total of about Rs. 6,47,000/-. The grant was available equally to employees and non-employees residing within the area covered by the Jamshedpur Notified Area Committee, and in the Government quarters of Adityapur and Baghbera.

The companies also decided to advance interest free loans amounting to three months' salary recoverable in 36 instalments to the employees in distress.

Another important decision taken by the Companies was to pay generous compensation to the next-of-kin of their unfortunate employees, who were killed during the disturbances, on the same scale as if these employees had been killed while on duty.

By about the middle of April, a majority of Muslims had returned to their homes excepting in the eastern sector of the town in areas like Telco, Jemco-Monifit-Azad Bastee, Baridih and Sidhgora and in the south-western fringe at Adityapur and Baghbera.

All the camps were officially disbanded by the 27th April 1964 as most of the inmates had moved on, either to own houses or to their friends and relatives.

The Muslim employees of various companies in Jamshedpur resumed work in factories as follows :—

"

	Date of resumption
TISCO	3-4-64
TINPLATE	6-4-64
INDIAN OXYGEN	7-4-64
TELCO	9-4-64
I.C.C	9-4-64
I.T.C.	10-4-64
I.S.W.P.	10-4-64

"

On April 8, 1964, Mr. J.R.D. Tata addressed a meeting of the Jamshedpur Citizens' Peace Committee at Area Peace Committees at the United Club Hall, Jamshedpur.

"Although there was much confusion and lack of decisive action at the official level at the beginning, I think we are grateful for the efforts made by government officials and the police and others, which ultimately brought back order out of chaos, under the leadership of Mr. Puri, the Commissioner who has been with us almost throughout since the trouble began."

"Personally, I cannot believe that an explosion of violence such as that took place two or three weeks ago—the hooliganism, the fanaticism, the looting and all that, could have been a purely spontaneous flare-up of communal passion aroused merely by sympathy for the refugees that passed through Jamshedpur in trains. I think that there is enough evidence by the very fact that these events flared up suddenly, almost simultaneously at the same hour, on the same day in various areas of Jamshedpur and even outside Jamshedpur, in places like Rourkela and others, and I think there is enough evidence to show that there was apart from anything else an organised plot of loot, arson and murder. I can only hope that a public enquiry—an independent enquiry will be conducted into the events of the last few weeks. I believe that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has demanded an enquiry of this type........"

"Well, here there have been hundreds of persons who have lost their lives and thousands who have suffered catastrophic sufferings, and I think an enquiry is something that should take place and I hope it will. I hope it will result in the apprehension of at least some culprits and the punishment of those for their acts of crimes.

Mr. Tata believed that the incidents in Jamshedpur, Rourkela and elsewhere were at least the result of organised plot of loot, arson and murder and hoped for the holding of an

independent enquiry. Some of the witnesses, whom we examined, suggested that the incidents were provoked by Pakistan agents who had been going about these towns during the preceding few days. Some other witnesses also suggested that the incidents were inspired and brought about by members of a political party who were acting to the detriment of India and to assist the enemy of our country. However, no evidence in support of these allegations was placed before us to warrant our drawing any conclusion on the basis thereof.

Apart from the stray incident of March 16, 1964 in Rourkela (to which we shall presently refer) serious trouble did start at different times of the day at Raigarh, Rourkela and Jamshedpur on March 19, 1964 but we have found no evidence of any organized plot of loot, arson and murder as suggested by Mr. Tata. It is possible that wild and unfounded rumours, which spread very quickly, were responsible for trouble in different parts of Rourkela and Jamshedpur, as has been the experience in the past when communal trouble has occurred. It is however a far cry from this to infer that there must necessarily be an organized plot which was responsible for what followed.

Rourkela, Jharsuguda, Brajarajgaon, Sundergar and Rajgangpur

On March 16, 1964, when a refugee train was passing through Rourkela station on its way to Raipur, a rumour went round that several refugees had been served with poisoned bread by local Muslims. This gave rise to an incident of rioting near the railway station. The police arrested one miscreant. The members of the public had also caught hold of another miscreant but he managed to escape from the custody of an employee of the railway police. This infuriated the members of the public. In their attempt to recapture this miscreant, certain rowdy elements broke into a house where the miscreant was suspected to have taken shelter. However, the police arrived on the scene and brought the mob under control. Just about the time of this incident, another incident of rioting took place in a labour colony near the same station in which 6 persons were injured, one of them seriously. The police arrested 4 persons for rioting and assault in connection with this incident. Though nothing further happened on this day, the situation remained very tense.

On March 18 and 19, 1964 there was tension in Rourkela, Brajrajnagar and Jharsuguda as a result of rumours about refugees passing through these places.

On March 19, 1964 some people, who had been to Rourkela railway station to provide food to the East Pakistan refugees travelling in a refugee special train to Dandakaranya, attacked, on suspicion, some members of the minority

community who were travelling by another passenger train. As a result, one person was killed and eight others were injured. The police who arrived on the scene later, arrested some miscreants.

There was also tension in Brajrajnagar and Jharsuguda which are situated respectively at a distance of 113 and 101 Kilometres from Rourkela. In Jharsuguda some shops belonging to the minority community were looted.

On March 20, 1964, the government of Orissa requesed the railway authorities (south Indian railway) to reduce to the minimum the halts of the refugee special trains, carrying East Pakistan migrants and passing through the railway stations situated in Orissa territory. A similar request was also made by the Government of West Bengal.

On March 21, 1964, the central government issued instructions directing that with immediate effect these refugee special trains will not halt at any of the larger railway stations and that henceforth they will only make halts at small wayside stations. The Central Government stated that the above step had beed taken to prevent outbursts of communal violence which had followed the harrowing stories of brutal violence and harassment narrated by and the pitiable condition of the people coming from across the eastern border and travelling by refugee special trains.

On March 20, 1964, the situation in Rourkela grew worse and there were further cases of arson and assault, the latter resulting in 3 deaths. There were some cases of arson and assault in Jharsuguda as well. There were also cases of assaults at Bisra, a small railway station (in the direction of Tatanagar) near Rourkela.

On March 20, 1964, from 9.30 a.m. a 24 hour curfew was imposed in Rourkela.

From March 20, 1964 Orissa military police started patrolling various trouble spots in Sambalpur and Sundergarh Districts.

Members of the Orissa Military Police, who were on deputation to West Bengal, were recalled and asked to proceed immediately to Jharsuguda and Rourkela.

By the night of March 20, 1964 the number of those killed came to 28 and those injured to 59.

The same evening, police opened fire on a riotious mob at Jalda. About 62 miscreants had also been arrested and detained by the police.

On March 20, 1964, the Chief Minister of Orissa Mr. Biren Mitra and the leader of the opposition parties in the state assembly Mr. R. N. Singh Deo and others issued a joint appeal to the general public to spare no efforts to maintain peace and harmony throughout the state.

On the same afternoon, two batches of members of the state assembly, one led by Mr. Banamali Babu, State's Law Minister and the other led by Mr. Harihar Patel (Swatantra Party) left for disturbed areas (Rourkela and Sambalpur) to appeal to the local people to help the civil authorities in restoring normalcy.

The frenzy was at its zenith on midday of March 21, 1964. The casualty figure by the end of this day was 53 dead and 111 injured in various parts of Rourkela. The parts most affected were sectors 15,16 and 19 of the new township and parts of the old town.

On March 21, 1964 the state's Home Minister Mr. Nilamani Routroy accompanied by home secretary arrived in Rourkela. The state's Ex-Chief Minister Mr. B. Patnaik also reached Rourkela the same day. They toured the affected areas.

The military took over patrolling of the street on March 21, 1964. 110 miscreants were arrested and detained.

About 2000 persons were evacuated and given shelter in two camps one in Rourkela cinema and the other in Rourkela police station.

On March 22, 1964 curfew was imposed in Sundergharh town, head-quarters of the Sundergarh district. On the same night, 5 persons were injured in the police firing on a mob trying to set fire to a house. Two of the 5 injured died, later.

On March 24, 1964 the Chief Minister Mr. Biren Mitra joined the Home Minister Mr. Nilamani Routroy,

The Union Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, who was in touch with the Orissa Government since the outbreak of the communal riots in Rourkela and other places in Orissa, visited Rourkela on March 27, 1964 and appealed to the people not to indulge in acts of vandalism and violence and thereby tarnish the good name of the country.

The situation in Rourkela and its suburbs was completely brought under control by March 23, 1964. The casualty list upto then was 70 dead (6 in police firing) and 113 injured. The number of persons arrested in connection with the disturbances was 129. The situation in all other places in Orissa was normal by March 24, 1964.

PART—V
CONCLUSIONS
EAST PAKISTAN

1. The immediate cause for the present migrations was the Hazrat Bal incident in Srinagar.
2. The Government of Pakistan, the press, the radio and prominent members of Cabinet, religious and lay leaders, seized upon the Hazrat Bal incident to indulge in propaganda of incitement not only against India but Hindus in general, notwithstanding the fact that there were about 9 million non-Muslims in East Pakistan, overwhelming majority of these being Hindus. False and highly exaggerated statements about the happenings in Kashmir were published in banner headlines and baseless allegations made against the Government of India. Mr. Nehru was called **"The Real Thief and the Real Arsonist"**.
3. The Pakistan Government was well aware that similar incitement in the past had resulted in large scale atrocities on non-muslims, and had occasioned massive migrations to India
4. As a result of incitement in which Mr. Sabur Khan, the Central Minister for Communications, who was in East Pakistan, took a leading part, atrocities on a large scale were perpetrated in Khulna and other districts. The atrocities began on January 3, 1964.
5. There were persistent appeals to Muslims, including Indian Muslims in general and Kashmiri Muslims in particular, to rise in rebellion against India in the hope that if this materialised at least in Kashmir, Pakistan could seize Kashmir.
6. The fact that the attacks on non-Muslims started about the same time in various places indicates pre-planning.
7. The recovery of the Relic was described as a fraud and furnished further ground for a campaign of vilification and hatred.

8. These atrocities were in the form of mass killing, plunder and arson of non-Muslim properties. Abduction, raping and molestation of women occurred on a large scale. Atrocities like mutilation of women before killing them were numerous. There are numerous instances of forced conversion largely of women and forced marriages even of women who had their husbands alive. Children and babies in arms were mercilessly butchered.

9. Many cases of breaking or burning of temples, of breaking idols and of sacrilegious acts have occurred.

10. Many witnesses have stated that they were offered the choice of embracing Islam or death.

11. Forcible occupation of land and houses belonging to non-Muslims took place all over East Pakistan but on a very large scale in Mymensingh District where, in the northern regions, there was a large population of Christians.

12. In Mymensingh exaction of forced labour by the police and the Ansars appear to be a regular feature.

13. It is not possible for us to give any figures of the number of persons killed. Our enquiries, however, disclose that the number must run into a few thousand. Similarly no estimate of persons injured or women raped is possible.

14. Similarly no estimate of the value of the loss of property is possible but this would amount to millions. Under the Nehru-Liaquat Pact rights to property were guaranteed but a non-Muslim could not in fact deal with his immovable property for some years.

The value of the land and other property left behind by the migrants would run into billions as all the migrants left their homes with little or nothing. Some of them entered India with hardly any clothing. On February 12, 1964 the Government of East Pakistan promulgated an Ordinance which by section. 4 froze the rights in immovable properties and imposed other restrictions on transfer. The relevant provisions of the ordinance as ammended are annexed. Vide Annexature.

15. Discrimination against minorities was writ large.

16. Social and economic boycott of non-muslims in many areas made it impossible for them to live in Pakistan.

17. (a) The leaders of Pakistan and its press and radio kept denying anything whatever had happened in East Pakistan.

(b) When the refugees started pouring in and the news came out Pakistan's leaders, press and radio said that it was false. Thev asserted that nothing more than demonstrations by Muslims to express their anger about the theft of the Relic, had taken place.

(c) When the Calcutta incidents happened, Pakistan leaders, press and radio gave most exaggerated reports and they called upon the Indian Government to restore law and order and the incidents in Calcutta were described as provocation. The Indian Government was told to emulate Pakistan in maintaining law and order **"which is the hall-mark of any civilized nation".**

(d) Soon thereafter the massacres in Dacca and Narayangunj took place.

18. (a) The police stood by when atrocities were being committed in most areas but in Mymensingh and some parts of Sylhet the police took active part in committing the atrocities.

(b) The Ansars (Militia) took a more aggressive role which was most apparent in Mymensingh or Sylhet.

(c) The army when called out had orders not to shoot.

(d) Generally speaking Chairmen and Muslim Members of the Union Councils joined in the atrocities.

(e) Muslim armed bands in certain parts of Khulna and Dacca districts were transported in buses to Hindu areas. These areas were quite close to cities like Khulna and Dacca but no steps were taken to prevent their movement.

(f) In many cases refugees were refused shelter in Police Stations or camps and in some cases turned out to be massacred by mobs.

(g) Attacks on places or camps where refugees had taken shelter also took place.

(h) Police and other persons in authority threatened non-muslims with dire consequences unless they quit Pakistan.

(i) In Mymensingh and Sylhet police, Ansars and Union Councils' Chairmen and members took active part in driving non-muslims, in this case Christians, out of their homes.

19. One special feature in which the present migration differs from the earlier ones is that Christians from Mymensingh and Sylhet and Chakmas who are Budhists from Chittagong Hill Tracts District, have come in large numbers.

20. Witnesses are unanimous in saying that there was total lack of security for non-muslims ; and that the authorities were completely indifferent to their complaints.

The total number of refugees who have arrived in 1964 in India is about 8,70,000 but of these 48,000 are Christians and 21,000 are Buddhists. This brings the number of refugees from East Pakistan area from 1946 to 1964 to about 5½ million. The population of non-Muslims in East Pakistan at the time of partition was about 13 million. Only about 8½ million are left.

The reasons for the earlier migrations are similar to those of the 1964 migrations viz. atrocities and total lack of security induced by reckless propaganda of hatred against minorities.

Human Rights

In this enquiry, since we were dealing with a few thousand statements of refugees it was not possible to classify the evidence under various Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which have been violated. We have dealt with the evidence area-wise and as far as possible chronologically in each area. We have said, as far as possible because atrocities were being committed simultaneously in various areas. However, taking into consideration the voluminous evidence, we are of opinion that serious and systematic violations of the following Articles have taken place.

Article 2:—Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 3:—Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4:—No one shall be held in slavery or servitude ; slavery and the slave-trade shall be prohibited in all their froms.

Article 5:—No one shall be subjected to torture or to **Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment** or punishment.

Article 6:—Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7—All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the Law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any **Incitement** to such discrimination.

Article 12:—No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour aad reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13 (1) :—Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

Article 16 (2) :—Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

Article 16 (3):—The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17 (1) :—Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

Article (2):—No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18 :—Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. and

Article 30 :—Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Although, the terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not of a binding nature, it sets forth a standard of achievement as well as a standard of civilized behaviour for all peoples and all nations. Article 30 seeks to provide that pending such complete implementation, no state, group or person has any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth in the said Declaration. If any such activity is indulged in it would be tantamount to violating the Articles set out above as well as Article 30.

GENOCIDE

Article II of the Genocide convention defines Genocide :

Article II:—In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such :

(a) Killing members of the group ;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group ;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group condition of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part ;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Under the Article there are two requisites before the crime of Genocide is made out:

1. The intent to destroy in whole or in part, national, ethnical, racial and religious groups as such,

2. Any of the acts enumerated in Clauses (a) to (e)must have been committed.

The Hindus, Christians and Buddhists in East Pakistan are both a national as well as a religious group. The evidence discloses that the earlier and recent migrations have been the direct result of killing members of a group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, and deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. As for the intent we are of opinion that these recurring atrocities are being perpetrated with the sole purpose of eliminating non-Muslims from Pakistan as is clear by the massive anti-Hindu propaganda which precede the atrocities.

The crime of Genocide has certainly been established so far as Hindus are concerned.

As for Christians and Buddhists, in the earlier migrations not many left East Pakistan but so far as the 1964 migration is concerned we are satisfied that the crime of Genocide of these national and religious groups has been committed by deliberately killing many and uprooting most of them from East Pakistan.

Set out below is the penal article :

Article III. The following acts shall be punishable.

(a) Genocide;

(b) Conspiracy to commit Genocide :

(c) Direct and public incitement to commit Genocide.

(d) Attempt to commit Genocide ;

(e) Complicity in genocide.

The Government of Pakistan has therefore incurred the liability under its penal Clauses (a), (b), (c) & (e).

India

1. The communal incidents in West Bengal, in January 1964, were the result of the influx of large number of people into West Bengal from East Pakistan and the harrowing tales which they narrated of the atrocities committed on them and on the minority community in East Pakistan since January 3, 1964.

2. The tales of atrocities narrated by the migrants from East Pakistan had infuriated a certain section of the people in West Bengal and the hooligans and goondas seized upon this for indulging in acts of violence, arson and looting.

3. There were certain pockets in West Bengal where not the Hindus but Muslims were in majority and in such pockets the Hindus were attacked by Muslims.

4. The loss of life and property in the West Bengal incidents of January 1964 was not confined to the members of the minority community viz. the Muslims. The figures of casualties given by us will show that a considerable percentage of the dead and injured consisted of Hindus.

5 That though the Government of West Bengal was taken by surprise by the sudden incidents of January 1964, with the help and guidance of the Central Government, it took prompt and drastic steps to bring and did bring the situation under control in the matter of a few days.

6. That Central Government and the Government of West Bengal as also the Indian political leaders and the press, whilst unequivocally condemning and depricating the incidents, throughout emphasized the fundamental right of the minority community viz. the Muslims to freedom of life, liberty, thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and the dignity of the individual. None of them indulged in any compaign of the type indulged in by their counterparts in Pakistan.

7. Consequent upon the incidents in West Bengal, large number of persons in West Bengal were arrested and detained and tried and punished by law courts.

8. The West Bengal Government took prompt steps for preventing the usurpation by goondas and hooligans of the houses, huts and bustees of the minority community—who had been evacuated to safe places.

9. An Ordinance providing for the speedy rehabilitation of people affected by disturbances was also promulgated.

10. The Central and West Bengal Governments themselves took and encouraged the citizens to take steps for giving relief to and rehabilitating the sufferers and victims of the disturbances.

11. As a result of the various steps taken, normalcy returned and confidence was restored and those who had been evacuated from their homes were enabled to go back to their homes particularly because of a generous rehabilitation grant.

12. The outbreak of violence in Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh was sudden but was brought under control by the authorities within a matter of a few hours.

13. "Save Pakistan Minorities Committee" proclaimed a hartal for March 17, 1964. This was most unfortunate.

14. Although the hartal on March 17, 1964, passed off peacefully, the propaganda for such hartal apparently was responsible for the incident of the attack on Muslim textile workers in Belgharia area on the night of March 16, 1964.

15. Prompt steps were taken by the West Bengal authorities and thereafter there have been no further incidents in Calcutta of this nature.

16. So far as the incidents in and around Jamshedpur were concerned, they were the first of their kind in that industrial township where a considerable percentage of the industrial workmen were Muslim.

17. The Government of Bihar, assisted by the military brought the situation under control on the fourth day.

18. The Government of Bihar and the industrial concerns and the citizens of Jamshedpur took prompt measures for providing immediate shelter, food, medicine, clothing etc. to the nearly 35000 persons who had been earlier evacuated from the trouble spots.

19. The Governments of India and Bihar and the managements of the industrial concerns and the citizens took prompt steps for restoring an atmosphere of amity and normalcy for enabling the early return of the sufferers to their respective homes.

20. All steps were promptly taken to repair the damaged houses, bustees and huts and cash grants were given to the sufferers to enable them to return to their homes and to restart normal life.

21. The industrial concerns very generously came forward to pay and paid to their Muslim workers, who were absent from work during the disturbances, their wages (basic plus dearness allowance) for the entire period of absence.

22. These industrial concerns also agreed to pay to the families of such of their workmen, who had lost their lives, compensation at the same rate as if the concerned workmen had died whilst on duty.

23. So far as Rourkela is concerned, near or in which are situated the Hindustan Steel Plant and the Government Fertilizer Plant, the local administration had hardly anticipated or could be expected to be prepared to meet the challenge of the widespread trouble which ensued. The local police contingent,—which was not adequate even for the maintenance of law and order in normal times—on the outbreak of the violence which gathered momentum at an unbelievable scale, was rendered ineffective and the law and order situation was only brought under control after the army stepped in and curbed it ruthlessly under the able Muslim Commander Brigadier Raza. The same position obtained in other parts of Orissa which were affected by the disturbances.

24. All these places where the outbreaks took place were on the railway-line between Calcutta and Raipur or Dandakaranya, where camps had been organised, to receive the refugees.

25. In order to prevent further incidents resulting from the tension caused by the arrival of the refugees, prompt steps were taken and the refugee trains were halted only at small way side stations.

26. So far as events in India are concerned no violation of human rights has taken place and no question of Genocide arises.

ANNEXURE 'A'

East Pakistan Ordinance No. 1 of 1964 (February 12, 1964, as amended by Ordinance No. VI of 1964 and April 3, 1964)

4. **Restriction on Transfer.** (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, no transfer of any immovable property belonging to a member of a minority community shall be deemed to be valid and legal unless it has been made with prior permission of the specified authority under clause (ii) of sub-section (3).

"(2) An application for such permission shall be submitted to the Deputy Commissioner in such form as may be prescribed. On receipt of the application for permission under sub-section (1), the Deputy Commissioner shall cause an inquiry to be made to ascertain whether the proposed transfer—

(i) has been agreed upon due to coercion, threat, intimidation, undue influence, misrepresentation, inadequate consideration or fraud ; or

(ii) is a bona-fide transaction.

(3) After the inquiry under sub-section (2) the Deputy Commissioner—

(i) shall, in cases falling under clause (i) of sub-section (2), refuse permission ; and

(ii) shall, in cases falling under clause (ii) of sub-section (2), submit a report to such authority as may be specified by the Provincial Government in accordance with the rules made in this behalf who may grant permission.

(4) No instrument for transfer of immovable property of a person who is a member of the minority community shall be admitted for registration unless it is accompanied by the permission of the specified authority under clause (ii) of sub-section (3).

(5) An appeal from an Order, under clauses (i) and (ii) of sub-section (3) refusing permission, shall lie to the authorities to be specified in the rules, if preferred, within sixty days from the date of such order.

Explanation—In this section, the word "transfer" shall include sale, exchange, gift, will, mortgage, lease, sub-lease and change of management through a power of attorney.

N. B. This Ordinance has now been enacted into law by the East Pakistan Assembly.

APPENDIX. I-A

NEOGY - GHULAM MOHAMMAD

Agreement No. VI. Inter-Dominion Conference held at Calcutta (15-4-48 to 18-4-48)

Whereas the Governments of the two Dominions agree that mass exodus of minorities is not in the interest of either Dominion and they are determined to take every possible step to discourage such exodus and to create such conditions as would check mass exodus to either direction and would encourage and facilitate, as far as possible, return of Evacuees to their ancestral homes, the two Dominions agree as follows :

SECTION 1

(1) The responsibility for protecting the lives and properties of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside.

(2) In Pakistan and in India every citizen shall have equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations ; and there shall be no discrimination against the minorities whose cultural and religious rights shall be fully safeguarded.

N.B.—"Cultural" rights include "educational" rights.

(3) Any propaganda for the amalgamation of Pakistan and India or of portions thereof including East Bengal on the one hand and West Bengal or Assam or Cooch Behar or Tripura on the other, shall be discouraged.

N.B.—The word propaganda shall be taken as including any organisation which might be set up for the purpose.

Both Governments recognise that the wholehearted co-operation of the Press is essential for creating a better atmosphere and therefore agree that every effort should be made, in consultation with the representatives of the Press, wherever possible, to ensure that the Press in each Dominion does not :

(a) indulge in propaganda against the other Dominion ;

(b) publish exaggerated versions of the news of a character likely to inflame, or cause fear or alarm to, the population or a section of the population in either Dominion ;

(c) publish material likely to be construed as advocating a declaration of war by one Dominion against the other Dominion or suggesting the inevitability of war between the two Dominions.

(4) Complaints from minorities in both the Dominions that action is not taken on their reports against oppression or unfair treatment, should be promptly and fairly looked into and early remedial measures taken.

(5) Both in East Bengal and in West Bengal there shall be set up a Provincial Minorities Board and under the Provincial Board, District Minorities Boards for the express object of protecting the interests of the minorities, removing fear from their minds and inspiring confidence in them. These Boards shall ensure that the grievances of the minorities are promptly brought to the notice of the authorities and that they are satisfactorily and promptly dealt with.

It is suggested that the Provincial Minorities Board should be composed of five members, three of whom at least belonging to the major minority community to be selected by the members of the Provincial Legislature belonging to the minority communities. The remaining two shall be persons of influence and shall be nominated by the Provincial Government. The District Magistrate shall be the Chairman of the District Minorities Board and a Minister to be nominated by the Provincial Government shall be the Chairman of the Provincial Board.

(6) The two Dominions and their Provincial Governments shall declare and make it widely known to their officers and other employees that any Government servant proved to have been guilty either of dereliction of duty in protecting the lives and properties of the members of the minority community or of directly or indirectly illtreating the members of the minority community or showing prejudice against the minority community in the discharge of his duties, shall receive exemplary and deterrent punishment.

(7) Severe action shall be taken against any person or group of persons creating or attempting to create any apprehension or fear or insecurity or alarm in the minds of the minority communities.

(8) (i) The two Dominions shall take adequate steps to remove complaints regarding :—

(a) discrimination in the grant of export and import licences and railway priorities to members of the minority community as such ;

(b) to curb all tendencies towards an economic boycott of minorities or strangulation of their normal economic life.

(iii) The two Dominion Governments shall request their respective Provincial Governments to observe the same principles in their own sphere.

(9) The Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal will promote legislation providing for the setting up of Evacuees Property Management Boards in districts or areas from where a substantial exodus has taken place. These Boards will be set up only when it is established that there is a demand for their establishment. These Boards will assume management of properties only on the definite request of their owners. Their functions will be of a managerial character and they will not have the power to alienate the property entrusted to them for management. These Boards shall be composed of members of the Minority Community.

N.B.—For this purpose "Evacuee" shall be defined as a person who has left the Province in question on or after 1-6-1947 and who declares his intention to return as soon as normal conditions are restored.

A committee of officers will be appointed immediately by the two Governments to draw up detailed proposals for the necessary legislation.

SECTION II

To ensure the implementation of this Agreement, the representatives of the two Dominions shall meet at least once in two months so as to bring to the notice of each other any instances of the non-observance of the above principles in either Dominion. In the case of East Bengal and West Bengal, where the situation requires more urgent measures, the Premiers of the two Provinces shall meet once every month for the same purpose ; and in addition, to begin with, the Chief Secretaries of the two Provinces shall meet once a fortnight. Whenever matters concerning Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura are likely to be discussed, the Chief Secretary. West Bengal, shall arrange for their representatives to be present.

SECTION III

(1) This Conference recommends that another Inter-Dominion Conference should be called at a very early date to which representatives of other Provinces and States (except East and West Punjab and N.W.F.P.) from which exodus has taken place on a large scale, or is likely to take place should be invited to consider action on lines similar to those proposed above or on any other suitable lines in respect of :

(a) Protection and other safeguards for the property of refugees who have gone out from one Dominion to the other temporarily or otherwise, and

(b) creation of conditions in any affected area which will reassure the minorities that their interest and rights are fully safeguarded and will prevent exodus or will induce evacuees to return to their homes.

(2) It is further understood that a separate conference as already agreed to is to be held to consider the special problems relating to East and West Punjab and N.W.F.P. It is recommended that this Conference should also be held at a very early date.

(3) It is further recommended that a separate Inter-Dominion Conference should be called at an early date, at which representatives of East Bengal and Assam are present, to discuss the question of migration of Muslims from East Bengal to Assam and the migration of Muslims who have been in Assam prior to partition into East Bengal. Pending this Conference, both sides agree not to take any action to force or precipitate migration from one Province to the other on a mass scale. While both the Dominion Governments agree to this arrangement, Mr. Bardeloi wished to place the matter before his Cabinet.

SECTION IV

The report of the Expert Committee appointed by the Inter-Dominion Conference to consider certain economic issues was discussed and the two Dominions agreed to give immediate effect to the recommendations made therein subject to the modification described in the Addendum appended thereto. The report of the Committee is annexed.

K.C. NEOGY
Calcutta, 19th April, 1948

GHULAM MOHAMMAD
Calcutta, 19th April, 1948

Appendix I-B

Agreement No.XIV.—Agreement Reached at the Inter-Dominion Conference held at New Delhi From 6th to 14th December 1948.

Whereas the Governments of the two Dominions agree that mass exodus of minorities is not in the interest of either Dominion and they are determined to take every possible step to discourage such exodus and to create such conditions as would check mass exodus in either direction and would encourage and facilitate, as far as possible, return of evacuees to their ancestral homes, the two Dominions agree as follows :

SECTION I

1. The responsibility for protecting the lives and property of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside. The allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is therefore their rights and duty to have their grievances redressed by the Government of their own State. Leaders in each Dominions should make public declarations to this effect at every suitable opportunity as part of the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement.

2. (i) In Pakistan and in India every citizen shall have equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations; and there shall be no discrimination against the minorities whose cultural and religious rights shall be fully safeguarded.

N.B.—"Cultural" rights include "educational" rights.

(ii) Where direct recruitment is made otherwise than by open competition, minorities shall be given fair representation in the services.

3. Any propaganda for the amalgamation of Pakistan and India or of portions thereof including East Bengal on the one hand and West Bengal or Assam or Cooch Behar or Tripura on the other, shall be discouraged.

N.B.—The word "propaganda" shall be taken as including any organisation which might be set up for the purpose.

4. (i) Both Governments recognise that the wholehearted co-operation of the Press is essential for creating a better atmosphere and therefore agree that every effort should be made, in consultation with the representatives of the Press, wherever possible, to ensure that the Press in each Dominion does not-

(a) indulge in propaganda against the other Dominion,

(b) publish exaggerated versions of news of a character likely to inflame, or cause fear or alarm to, the population or a section of the population in either Dominion,

(c) publish material likely to be construed as advocating declaration of war by one Dominion against the other Dominion or suggesting the inevitability of war between the two dominions.

(ii) An Inter-Dominion Information Consultative Committee should be set up to meet once in two months, or more frequently if necessary, alternately in Delhi and Karachi and keep under review the activities of:—

(a) the press,
(b) books, pamphlets and publications,
(c) broadcasting, and
(d) films.

This Committee shall have an equal number of representatives from either Dominion consisting of one Minister from each Dominion, and not more than two Government officers and two representatives of the press of each Dominion. The subjects listed under (b), (c) and (d) shall be dealt with only by the official members of the Committee.

(iii) Both Governments shall ensure that their respective organisations handling publicity, including publicity through the radio and the film, refrain from and control :—

(a) propaganda against the other Dominion, and

(b) publication of exaggerated versions of news of a character likely to inflame, or cause fear or alarm to, the population, or any section of the population in either Dominion.

5. Complaints from minorities in both the Dominions, that action is not taken on their reports againts oppression or unfair treatment, should be promptly and fairly looked into and early remedial measures taken.

6. Both in East Bengal and West Bengal there shall be set up before the 15th of February, 1949 a Provincial Minorities Board and, under the Provincial Board, District Minorities Boards for the express object of protecting the interests of the minorities, removing fear from their minds and inspiring confidence in them. These Boards shall ensure that the grievances of the minorities are promptly brought to the notice of the authorities and that they are satisfactorily and promptly dealt with.

It is suggested that the Provincial Minorities Board and the District Minorities Boards should each be composed of five members, three of whom at least should belong to the major minority community to be selected by the members of the Provin cial Legislature belonging to the minority communities The remaining two shall be persons of influence and shall be nominated by the Provincial Government. The District Magistrate shall be the Chairman of the District Minorities Board and a Minister to be nominated by the Provincial Government shall be the Chairman of the Provincial Board.

7 The two Dominions and their Provincial Governments shall declare and make it widely known to their officers and other employees that any Government servant proved to have been guilty either of dereliction of duty in protecting the lives and properties of the members of the minority community or of directly or indirectly ill-treating the members of the minority community or showing prejudice against the minority community in the discharge of his duties, shall receive exemplary and deterrent punishment, and such punishment shall be given full publicity in each Dominion.

8. Severe action shall be taken against any persons or group of persons creating or attempting to create any apprehension or fear of insecurity or alarm in the minds of the minority communities.

9. (i) The two Dominions shall take adequate steps :—

(a) to remove complaints regarding discrimination in the grant of export and import licences and railway priorities to members of the minority community as such ;

(b) to curb all tendencies towards an economic boycott of minorities or strangulation of their normal economic life.

(ii) The two Dominion Governments shall request their respective Provincial Governments to observe the same principles in their own sphere.

10. (1) The Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal will promote legislation providing for the setting up of Evacuee Property Management Boards in districts or areas from where a substantial exodus has taken place. These Boards will assume management of properties only on the definite request of their owners. Their functions will be of a managerial character and they will not have the power to alienate the property entrusted to them for management. Those Boards shall be composed of members of the minority community.

N.B.—"Evacuee" shall be defined as a person who has left the Province in question on or after 1st June, 1947, and who declares his intention to return as soon as normal conditions are restored to the satisfaction of the two Governments.

(2) The two Chief Secretaries of East and West Bengal should meet at an early date to finalise the proposal for necessary legislation. The Governments of East and West Bengal will legislate by the 31st January 1949 for the setting up of an Evacuee Property Management Board in every district or area or their respective provinces referred to in sub-clause (1). These Boards should be set up as soon thereafter as possible.

SECTION II

1. In order to ensure the smooth working of this Agreement in so far as they are concerned, the Chief Secretaries of the two provinces, viz., East Bengal and West Bengal shall meet at least once a month. Whenever matters concerning Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura are likely to be discussed, the Chief Secretary, West Bengal shall arrange for their representatives to be present.

The Premiers of the two Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal, or their nominees, shall meet not less than once in two months for the same purpose.

2. (i) Each Dominion should set up an organisation at the Centre to watch the implementing of the agreements reached and to bring up cases of breaches. It will be the responsibility of each Dominion to ensure that its Provincial Governments and acceding States carry out these agreements in so far as they are concerned. If a Province or a State for any reason considers that an agreement or any part of it should not be implemented, it should report the matter to its Dominion Government who should bring up the matter at the monthly Inter-Dominion meetings referred to in (ii) below.

(ii) All such cases of breaches or non-implementation or possible modifications arising out of the experience of the arrangements made should be discussed at monthly meetings to be held at the Dominion Minister level alternately at Delhi and Karachi.

(iii) Each Dominion should nominate a Minister who for the next few months would be responsible for this work and who will attend those meetings.

(iv) All outstanding matters and such new matters as may arise from day to day relating to East Punjab, East Punjab States, including Alwar and Bharatpur, on the one side, and West Pakistan including acceding States on the other, will also be brought up for discussion and settlement at these meetings.

3. The question of migration of Muslims from East Bengal to Assam and the migration of Muslims who have been in Assam prior to partition into East Bengal shall also be dealt with at the Inter-Dominion meetings at the Minister level provided in paragraph 2(ii) above.

4. It is agreed that if any criminal proceedings have been started in any of the two provinces of East and West Bengal, by the Government of the Province against Government servants, of the other Province in respect of matters arising in course of execution of their duties, such proceedings should be withdrawn and the Government servants concerned, if taken into custody, should be released simultaneously in the two Provinces on a date not later than the 1st January 1949.

5. In regard to migration to East Bengal from India and to West Bengal from Pakistan, the Government of each of the two Dominions and the Governments of the two Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal should be implementing this Agreement and otherwise create as early as possible conditions which would remove fear from and infuse confidence into the minds of these citizens who have migrated to the other Dominion and should instruct the Deputy High Commissioner (located in East or West Bengal according as the migration has been from India to Pakistan or from Pakistan to India) to make it known amongst evacuees there and to render to them all possible assistance so as to enable them to return to their original homes, lands and occupations. The Government of the Province to which migration has taken place should give all facilities and assistance to the Deputy High Commissioner and to the evacuees.

SECTION III

On receipt from Pakistan of relevant data relating to exodus on a large scale from areas in India other than West

Bengal, Assam, Cooch Behar, Tripura, East Punjab, East Punjab States, Bharatpur and Alwar, another Inter-Dominion Conference should be called to consider action on the lines similar to those proposed above or on any other suitable lines in respect of :—

(a) Protection and other safeguards for the property of refugees who have gone out from one Dominion to the other temporarily or otherwise ; and

(b) creation of conditions in any affected area which will reassure the minorities that their interests and rights are fully safeguarded and will prevent exodus or will induce evacuees to return to their homes.

APPENDIX II

Memorandum submitted before the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Pakistan by Members of the Opposition Party (Assembly), East Bengal.

To

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Prime Minister, Pakistan.

Dear Sir,

Your visit to this land at the present moment of supreme crisis in our life is heartily welcome. You have come at a fateful time when the ill-fated minority community here is inexorably faced with a grim prospect of virtual extinction. We are meeting you to-day under lingering shadow of an unprecedented and sweeping orgy of communal disturbances and carnage of recent occurrence, the dreadful enormity and experience of which far surpass those of the hectic days of the holocausts of 1946. Here in this province took place only one-sided diabolical killing and persecution of Hindus by Muslims. Terrible things of unparalleled magnitude have happened. The way in which the occurrences took shape with unmistakable political manipulation and bearings and the manner in which the administrative authorities generally handled the situation have naturally given rise to an almost irremovable apprehension in the minds of the most miserably plighted minorities in general that something equally or more terrible may happen every moment. Their sense of security thus stands completely shattered. In the midst of this all-encompassing gloom and sufferings, they see no ray of hope as to the protection of their life, honour, religion and property. Tragedy is alround and seems almost complete. To-day the minority community stands here broken in pride and honour, shamed and bleeding. Their lives and properties seem virtually forfeited here. We feel that this tragic state of things is but a culmination and cummulative effect of gradually but steadily generating forces of lawlessness and communalism in this province which in our opinion finds every nourishment from the existing non-secular political set-up and preaching. These forces of reaction and regress were rearing their heads in a

sporadic manner throughout the province since the partition, to the dark forebodings whereof we draw the attention of the provincial Government through written and verbal representations on various occasions with fervent requests for taking effective steps for arresting the growth thereof. For a long time a process of squeezing out all the Hindus from East Bengal was being followed in the shape of indiscriminate house-requisition, forcible dispossession, non-payment of compensation, illegal exactions, arrests and detention without trial cte. We had also opportunities of drawing your personal attention to those developments with all their ominous possibilities in course of our joint interviews with you on two past occasions. During our first interview with you we had submitted a written memorandum embodying therein a fairly long list of typical isolated communal incidents and acts of oppression against the minorities. During our second interview with you too, we submitted before you a written representation, wherein we requested your intervention to check the worsening trends of the situation. We pointed out that on the one hand communal fanaticism was gathering force much to the detriment of the minority community and on the other the tone of the General administration was slackening and deteriorating and the machinery of law and order was not asserting itself against the growth of lawless elements. In December last, when the Assembly was in session our Assembly party as a whole met the Hon'ble Premier of East Bengal and submitted to him a written representation about all these facts. But unfortunately the situation continued unrelieved. Fed and nurtured by persistent and reckless anti-Hindu propaganda of the local Press and rabid communal preachings by various elements of the majority community including some Muslim League stalwarts, undeterred by any authoritative interference though sought for by us, the force of lawlessness had been gathering strength quite demonstrably for the last few months. So, what were so long some scattered paches of cloud with some little breeze blowing about have steadily developed and broken into a furious storm at last tending to sweep off the very existence of the minority community here. The perverse spirits that actuated the isolated incidents so far and that lie behind the slow process of devitalising and demoralising the minority community in various ways now seem congealed into an organised plan for giving a final and fatal blow to the minority community as will be clearly evident particularly from the nature of the latest happenings with their flaming trails of sufferings for them yet. An irrecoverable atmosphere of prejudice and hatred against the minorities prevails here which is very likely to heighten more and more.

Since your last visit, a few major incidents had taken place in more or less quick succession in the Province, in which

Muslim mob violence with the direct connivance of and in collusion with the police and Ansars, with the knowledge of the District authorities even, broke out against the minorities on fairly large scales, letting aside the many minor ones. Let us briefly mention them.

In August 1949, some villages under Bianibazar and Barlekha P.S. of Sylhet district were raided by a large band of Muslim villagers in company with the police and Ansars. Houses were looted, broken and burnt. Hindu villagers were murdered and assaulted in large number. Women were assaulted and raped even by policemen. The whole atrocity was committed in a visibly organised manner. We took up the matter with the Provincial Government. We discussed the same on the floor of the Assembly and earnestly demanded remedy, but to no avail. Nothing has been done to relieve the distress of the people nor to punish the wrong-doers. Then followed the incidents in Bhandaria in the District of Barisal, where similar persecution of the minorities was enacted in the whole village and the neighbouring localities apparently under the instruction of the district authorities. We approached the Provincial Government for redress but failed to impress upon them the need for taking any just action against the offenders. That seemingly studied indifference of the Government in tackling the growing lawlessness was bound to encourage the outbreak of lawlessness in the country. That happened actually. On the 10th December Muslim mob attacked the Putia Rajbari in Rajshahi town and took forcible possession of the house and their treasures. The terrible atrocities of Bagerhat (Khulna) followed, involving mass looting, breaking and burning of houses, killing and assaulting persons, conversion, desecration of images and rape of women on a large scale affecting about a score of villages. Some troubles happened in Bagerhat town also. Similar troubles took place in Santal villages in P. S. Nachole and Gomastipur in Rajshahi district. Apart from other accounts, the local Roman Catholic Missionary Father Thomas Cattaneo in his report on the district of Rajshahi described that entire Santal villages were looted and burnt by the police and the military, the Santal villagers were assaulted, their women in large number were raped and mass arrests were made. Generally everywhere police, Ansars and Muslim mob directly and indirectly combined to wreak vengeance. Here also, our attempts at getting remedy failed significantly enough. On January 4, the Police raided and arrested about a hundred Hindus in villages Kalaskatti in Barisal district. Mass arrests of and assaults on Hindus in Habibganj town Sylhet District were made following an accidental fire in the criminal court buildings on January 22.

An exciting meeting a procession were held, whereafter Sri Sures Chandra Biswas, M.L.A. was severely beaten and rendered unconscious. Later on he was admitted into hospital. A few days after he was arrested and is still in Jail. In Comilla town, Muslims raided the townhall on January 25 and Hindu shops on January 26 and pulled down pictures of the Hindu deities and leaders. Then followed, a few weeks after, incidents on 2nd February in Feni (Noakhali) involving stabbing and murder, looting of the shops of Hindu shopkeepers and merchants. Thus the chain of portentious events followed without let or hindrance.

We sought to discuss the situation by means of adjournment motions in the Assembly on the 6th February over the incidents of Nachole and Bagerhat. The motions were disallowed. Thanks to the adverse attitude of the majority party and the Government, that legitimate attempt of ours was thwarted. In reply to our rightful demand of discussion, the Hon'ble Premier made a statement thereby clearly making us feel that we are reduced to the intolerable position of hostages so far as our protection and security is concerned and making our fate clearly contingent upon the conditions of the minorities in West Bengal. This statement was supplemented by highly provocative and offensive observations of some members of the majority party. We were thus prevented from exercising our just right and privileges as representatives of the people in the matter of giving voice to the grievances and sufferings of the minorities which were admitted to be true at least to some extent. Our voice was practically throttled. We cannot accept the position of hostages directly or indirectly. We have always demanded and still demand, as a matter of fundamentals, same rights and protections as are due to any loyal law-abiding and peaceful citizen of the state irrespective of what may happen elsewhere. We made our position in this respect clear in a statement made on the floor of the Assembly on 7-2-50 wherein inter alia we demanded an enquiry by a committee of the House headed by the Hon'ble Premier into the incidents at Nachole and Bagerhat. That statement was greeted by angry outbursts inside and outside the Assembly. A vitriolic press campaign was started against us. A distorted version as to our stand was catered to the people with a view to prejudice them against us, taking advantage of our forced silence. Generally speaking too, press campaign, through comments and presentation of news prejudicial to the minorities assumed a furious character which contributed most towards worsening the situation and inviting crisis and chaos. The local newspapers which have all along been exciting communal hatred by publishing highly inflammable news and articles came out on the following day with headlines characterising the opposition members in the Assembly as "Fifth Columnists".

On the 7th February we walked out of the Assembly in protest and absented ourselves for some long period having no other means of ventilating our grievances. The Muslim Press and Muslim leaders and even the Radio started a violent campaign to rouse communal passion to the highest pitch. And even one member of the Cabinet broadcast on the Radio condemning the action of the opposition and distorting their stand. Some incidents alleged to have taken place in West Bengal were exploited by them to the full. Inflammatory leaflets calling for blood were distributed in the city of Dacca and in other places in muffusil areas. Posters of similar nature were also pasted in different places in different districts. Radio Pakistan on the night of the 6th and the afternoon of the 7th February announced the following in between scheduled items of programme: "Brother, you have heard about the inhuman atrocities being perpetrated on our brother Muslims in India and West Bengal. Will you not prepare yourselves ? Will you not gather strength ?" Thus a stage was being set for some grave developments. At last the presaged crisis came and overawed us on the 18th February. On the morning of that day four women were shown round the Secretariat offices at Dacca with conchshell bangles on their wrists, vermillion on their forehead and blood-stain on their clothes. They alleged that they were forcibly converted into Hinduism in Calcutta and were victims of oppression by Hindus. The Secretariat staff then left their office at about 11 a.m. during office hours and took out a procession from the gate of the Secretariat building shouting exciting slogans. They held a public meeting at Victoria Park at about 12 noon. As soon as the meeting dispersed, there was a simultaneous flareup in all parts of the city resulting in arson and loot of Hindu houses and shops and killings. Hindu passengers, who arrived at Dacca by steamer and trains, were killed at the Stations. Hindus travelling by train and buses were stabbed, murdered and thrown out. Out of hundreds of Hindu shops in the city of Dacca, about 90% were looted and many burnt. By the evening of the 10th February about fifty thousand Hindus in the city of Dacca were displaced from their houses and had to take shelter in refugee centres which sprang up in different parts of the city. Some Hindu officials and M L.A. also had to do so. For more than seven hours loot, arson and murders continued unchecked. The military were then called out and placed in certain parts of the city and curfew was imposed. On the 11th and the 12th also the disturbances continued. On the 12th afternoon about sixty air-passengers who had assembled at Kurmitola Air-port near the military headquarters at Dacca were attacked by a mob with deadly weapons resulting in a large number of death and injuries. So the city of Dacca witnessed one of the worst tragedy that History knows. A reign of terror prevailed. The whole reign was under the sway of

the communal brigands. It seemed that the administration abdicated in favour of Goonda-Raj. All manner of crimes were being committed in the metropolis under the nose of the Provincial Government, before the eyes of the police, who were in some places found abetting the same. For all practical purposes, administration seemed to have collapsed. Murder, loot, arson, assaults and attacks on men and women were committed on an extensive scale in broad daylight. The Government must have had sufficient warning as to the coming events. From all indications the aforesaid procession and meeting were seemingly the signal for the disturbances to follow. The Government was still sleeping over the growing crisis. Thus a hell was let loose over the city and surrounding localities. During the following days the flare spread to the other districts and the killings and stabbings of passengers in trains and steamers almost throughout the Province continued for a week or so. The worst riot affected areas in the province were the Dacca city and its suburbs, parts of the the Sadar and Narayanganj sub-divisions, the Jamalpur and the Kishoreganj sub-divisions of the Mymensingh district, the town of Chittagong and its suburbs, parts of police stations Hathazari, Fatikchari and Sitakunda in the district of Chittagong, the town of Feni and its suburbs, the town of Sylhet and some rural areas of the Sadar and Sunamganj sub-divisions of the Sylhet district, the town of Barisal and police stations Muladi Babuganj, Nalchiti, Jhakati and Rajapur of the Sadar sub-division of the Bakerganj district, and Talshar area of the Brahmanbaria sub-division of the Tippera district. Almost everywhere heinous offences against women were committed. In some places this most barbaric sort of crimes took place on a large scale. Mass conversions also took place in some places, apart from isolated cases here and there.

All outward indications and the manner in which the atrocities have been committed (having regard to almost uniformly timed and followed methods of execution) lead to the irresistible conclusion that the whole troubles took place and were allowed to take place according to a preconceived plan.

It is not possible for us to fully deal with the details of all the incidents here. However, we are giving below brief accounts of the incidents and casualties so far as we have been able to gather amidst so many difficulties of free movements and contact. These are by no means exhaustive. These may bear an eloquent testimony to the state of things here and to how miserably the Government have failed to protect the minorities. Confidence of the minorities in the ability and willingness of the Government to protect them is completely shaken. In such a surcharged atmosphere exodus has started. Incidents

and persecution of the minorities in isolated manner are still taking place here and there. Particularly the passengers going out of East Bengal are being harassed in various ways. Illegal exactions and extortions of money, unnecessary and obstructive detentions on the way followed by other kinds of molestation of passengers both male and female, are still rampant. Difficulties of journey by railway or steamer are manifold. Fresh and artificial obstructions are being created in different points of transit. All these are adding to the confusion and panic. In the wake of this helpless chaotic state of things in rural areas, crimes of theft, assault, intimidations and offences against women are still occurring in large number.

The manner in which the minority problem and their grievances have been so long tackled by the East Bengal Government does not encourage us to believe that we can have any protection and justice from them. They have all along shown a tendency of minimising things, always taking a complacent view of the situation. Even in the midst of troubles we made frantic appeals to them for help and relief, but little or no response came forth. We stand on our fundamental rights as free and law-abiding citizens of the State. We refuse to be treated as political shuttlecocks or mere objects of mercy or generosity of this quarter or that quarter. We feel that this Government of East Bengal have not shown any indication of having such an enlightened democratic outlook as to look upon us from proper perspective. We do very keenly feel that we have entered a critical juncture of our life. Any activity on political or economic spheres on our part on truly democratic line has become practically impossible. The whole situation constitutes a challenge to our manhood in the context of our democratic freedom. The problem should not be tinkered with. Merely any fresh promise of protection of minorities cannot inspire any confidence in their minds. An abiding solution of this problem on inter-state basis is very urgently called for. We beseech you earnestly to direct your attention to this.

Sylhet

The burden of the speeches of different speakers at a public meeting on the eleventh February was, "Blood will flow down the rivers of Sylhet." A local paper "Ansar" clearly reported some misdeeds and attempts in rural areas on the part of a section of Muslims led and supported by some maulavis at converting Hindus under coercion.

The troubles started in Sylhet town on the 13th February and continued till the 16th. According to official version in Sylhet town itself there were 50 to 60 cases of stabbing of which six proved fatal. In this town some ten or twelve houses are reported to have been looted and burnt. Almost simultaneously

the troubles starated in the rural areas within P.S. Sadar, Biswanath, Chatak, Fenchuganj, Balaganj and Gopalganj. In all these places a large number of Hindu Villages were attacked and have been completely destroyed and some Hindu girls were abducted and raped. Reports of mass conversion of Hindus of several villages have also been received. The modus operendi in these places was as follows :—

A few Mullahs first visited the village and asked the Hindus to save themselves by embracing Islam. Brahmins were made to tear their sacred threads and recite Kalma. Wherever there was resistance the Muslim mob attacked the village and the entire village was looted and burnt and persons killed and women abducted.

In the first part of February 1950 several Muslim leaders of Sylhet town were openly preaching that communal acts of violence and lawlessness were prevailing in West Bengal and Karimganj sub-division of the Cashar district and as a result of that the Muslims of Sylhet must take revenge upon the Hindus. On the 10th February, which was a bazar Day and a Friday, a big placard was hung up in a prominent light-post on the Bander Bazar Road of the Sylhet town under the caption "Julums in Hindusthan on Muslims", and depicting on it a hand-drawn picture showing the Muslims being dragged by ropes by the Hindus with weapons in their hands and pool of blood, coloured prominently in red, flowing. This placard attracted the attention of the passerby and soon an angry mob gathered round it. On the 11th February there was a public meeting in which some Muslim leaders delivered highly inflammatory speeches. On the 12th February there was a rumour in the town that Maulvi A.K. Fazlul Huque had been killed in Calcutta. The whole atmosphere was thus surcharged and trouble broke out from the 13th February and spread into rural areas.

At Manikpur some 25 houses of Naths (weavers) have been looted. In Jalapur area all the Hindu houses in village Senagram, Ajmatpur and Daspara were looted. Deities and idols were destroyed. At Lalbazar all Hindu shops have been looted and all the Hindu houses in neighbouring village have been burnt. All the Hindu shops at Rakhalganj Bazar were looted. Most of the Hindu houses in villages Jhapa and Samalsasan were looted. All the Hindu houses of the Steamer Workshop at Fenchuganj have been burnt. At Maijgaon and Machnabahar within the same P.S. several Hindu houses were looted and burnt. In Bagalganj P.S. several Hindu houses in villages Sukanpur, Madhurai and Kathalkair were looted. At Kathalkair and in its neighbouring villages there were mass conversions of the Hindus. In Golapganj P.S. large number

of Hindu houses were looted. In villages Fulsain, Dakshinbhag, Purkayesthapara and Sribahar a large number of Hindu houses were looted and two girls of Bharat Choudhury were abducted from the village Dakshinbhag in Golapganj P.S. These girls were returned on the following day in a precarious condition and admitted into hospital. All Hindu houses in Dandapanipur under Biswanath Thana (within half a mile from the thana) were looted. Most of the Hindu houses under Biswanath Thana villages, Krishnapur, Kurma, Rajaganj-Akhra, Singerkatch-Akhra, Bulchandergaon, Satpara, Mahabatpur, and Tukerkandi were looted. A large number of murders were also committed in all these places and people were forcibly converted on pain of death.

Mymensingh District

In Mymensingh district the worst affected parts are within the Jamalpur and Kishoreganj sub-divisions. Several incidents of arson and stabbing took place in Mymensingh town too. One teacher was stabbed to death. Trouble started in Jamalpur sub-division from the 13th February and continued till the 18th. The worst affected parts are within P. S. Jamalpur, Dewanganj, and Islampur. Quite a large number of stabbings, arson and loot took place within the Jamalpur town. Stray cases of arson, loot and stabbing also occurred in other thanas of this sub-division. At least 25 villages in Jamalpur and Sherpur P.Ss. and almost an equal number of villages of Dewanganj and Islampur P. Ss. were seriously affected. At those places 4 Hindu villages were completely burnt down. At Kursha within a mile of Jamalpur town all the 24 Hindu houses were completely looted and at Kochgar 20 Hindu houses were looted and 6 persons including 2 women were killed. Almost all the Hindu shops of Jamalpur town were looted. In and around Jamalpur town itself as many as 18 deaths took place and some 305 houses in 15 villages and all the Hindu houses in 10 other villages have been completely looted. In Kishoreganj sub-division P. S. Kishoreganj, Kotihadi and Astagram were the worst affected. More than 20 villages in these thanas besides a few other villages in other thanas were raided and Hindu houses looted and burnt. There were also a number of stabbings in these places. The most dastardly murder was committed at the house of Babu Prafulla Dutta Roy, President, Kastul Union Board. Prafulla Babu was murdered in his own house by some Muslim friends whom he had called to tea to form a Peace Committee. His daughter aged about 18 years, who came to her father's help was carried away by the miscreants and her dead body was found in the field on the following morning. It is suspected that she was raped before she was done to death. During this holocaust even Hindu officers of the East Bengal Government were not spared at some places. Out of a number

of such cases to mention only one, Babu Nagendra Nath Chatterjee, an Inspector of Civil Supplies of East Bengal Government with his son aged 7 years, a daughter aged 4 years and a nephew aged 27 years were all killed in the train at Bhairab Bazar while he was proceeding to his station in Bakerganj district. His wife and another daughter aged 1.1/2 years were also stabbed and thown into the river below Bhairab Bridge. Thereafter they were rescued under very thrilling circumstances wounds on their persons. The whole story has been obtained with from the wife. Some more murders under such circumstances took place. The house of Sri Rohini Choudhury of Raboulpur in Sadar sub-division was raided. Altogether five members of the family including Rohini Babu's daughter who was to be married next day were killed. The girl was taken away first and raped before killing.

Bakarganj District

At Barisal town the disturbances started on the 13th February following a rumour that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque of Barisal and his nephew were killed in Calcutta. 25 Hindus were stabbed on the 13th and 14th of whom six died. About a dozen houses were burnt and looted including a Government Civil Supply Godown and the rest belonging to the Hindus. The flare spread to the rural areas in Sadar sub-division and continued till the 22nd. Total number of villages affected are about 50. Some of the worst affected villages are Lakulia, Sarshi, Madhabpasa, North Kashipur, Kalasgram, Rahamatganj, Kaunia, Khanpur and Khapura. Most of the Hindu houses in these villages were looted and some burnt. More than a thousand Muslims on the morning of the 16th February attacked the Lakuta Rajbari and set fire to the heaps of straw and branches placed around the house. Compelled by the smoke and fire the Hindus who took shelter there came out and ran toward their homes. A large number of them were then killed, whose number is estimated at about 100. Fifty females after abduction were recovered from one village another 50 taken away. At Sarshi 50 dead bodies were found in a pit in the village, and a dead body of a woman was hanging near her house even on the 4th March. Vultures were seen eating the dead bodies. In this village the total number killed were estimated to be 80. The worst happenings took place at Muladi which is a thana Headquarters in the Sadar-sub-division. When loot and arson broke out in this village hundreds of Hindus ran for shelter to the thana premises where they stayed on the 18th and the 19th February. On the 20th they were driven out from there and they took shelter at Muladi Bunder, half a mile from the thana where they were robbed and killed. The total number killed at the Bunder is estimated at five hundred and about 200 more dead bodies were lying scattered in the

village. A considerable number of abduction of women and forcible conversion are reported to have taken place in these areas. Even as late as 3rd March Hindu shops in Bhandaria in the Ferozepur sub-division of the same district were looted. Under Rajapur thana in village Kaibartakhali about 37 were killed, and in village Rajapur 17. The total number of persons killed in areas under this thana will be about 150. At Ilshaghat in one family eleven were killed. Unwarranted arrests of respected leaders like Sj.Satindra Nath Sen, M L.A. and some other leaders of the minorities during the riot period have added to the existing great panic in the minds of the people.

Chittagong District

In the Chittagong town the disturbances broke out on the 13th February, which continued till the 16th with a few cases of stabbing. On the 14th and the 15th the disturbances spread out to the rural areas, Patenga, Kumira, Fatikchari, Rouzan, Hatazari, Anyara, Boalkhali Patiya and Sitakunda. Amongst these places the loss of life and property was considerable in Patenga, Kumira, Fatikchari and Sitakunda. Hindu pilgrims numbering about 130 who had gathered at Sitakunda fair during the Shivaratri festival are also reported to have been killed. In Patenga 27 Hindu families and in Kumira 47 Hindu families lost their all. At Patenga women were abducted, 3 of whom were recovered later on by the police, one being recovered on payment of ransom money.

During these disturbances Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta, M.L.A. who was at Chittagong at the time and wanted to visit the disturbed areas was not allowed by the District Magistrate to go out for 4 days. Definite names have been recieved of the killed numbering 143.

Noakhali District

At Feni on the 2nd February 7 Hindus were murdered and their shops looted. On the 13th February disturbances broke out throughout the sub-division. At Feni town itself 15 Hindu houses were burnt. In a single village Banspara, P. S. Chagalnaiya, the houses belonging to 42 families were burnt down. The number killed in the sub-division is reported to be 15 and one is missing.

At Noakhali town 3 persons were killed on the night of the 10th February.

Tippera District

On the night of the 11th February and the following day 7 Hindus were stabbed to death and 11 others injured in the

town of Brahamanbaria. On the 12th February all the Hindu houses except one and all the Hindu shops at Talshahar Bazar were looted. This was one of the richest Hindu localities in the Brahamanbaria sub-division. Loss of property here is estimated to be very high.

Dacca District

The disturbances in the city of Dacca have already been dealt with above. Looting and arson on a large scale also took place in P.S. Joydevpur, Tejgaon, Kaliganj, Kapasia, Sripur, Rupganj, Sibpur, Monohardi, Narsindi, Fatulla and Narayanganj of the Sadar and Narayanganj sub-divisions, Harirampur and Shivalaya P.S. in Manikganj sub-division covering about 150 villages including Hats and Bazars. At Kotbari a village adjoining Mirpur all the Hindu houses were looted and completely razed to the ground Most of the Hindu houses of villages Mirpur and Ghosepura were similarly looted and Hindu temples desecrated. In this area seven Hindus including a woman were killed. At these places even the corrugated iron sheets, door and window leavers and posts were uprooted and taken away. At Tongi and Pubali Bazars all the Hindu shops were completely looted on the 12th February. Other worst affected villages in the Sadar sub-division were Dattapara, Baradewara, Jazhar, Dakshinpara, Sataish, Gatcha, Harbaid, Udhur, Joynagar, Patertek and Gusain. At Harbaid alone as many as 40 Hindu houses were burnt on the 12th and the 13th February. On the 13th February local Muslim Matbars spread the rumour that the Biharis were coming to attack the village and unless the Hindus embraced Islam their lives could not be saved. On the following day a meeting was called in the compound of the local Zamindar where about a hundred Hindus were forced to recite Kalma and say the Namaj.

In Rupganj P.S. of the Narayanganj sub-division nearly all the Hindu houses of 10 villages including Majhina, Baruna, Nowrah, Nagari, Pashi and Icchapura, were looted and many of them burnt on the 13th night. Several thousands of Hindu refugees flocked to the thana premises for shelter but the police did not take any action to stop the loot and arson which continued till the 14th. The dead bodies in the Nowrah village lay in the houses for two days and two nights but the police took no action to take charge of the bodies and they visited the spot after the bodies had been disposed of by the Muslims.

At Jatrapur on the outskirts of the city of Dacca large number of Hindus were killed. In one house alone a woman with her 4 children were killed and their dead bodies were thrown into a well and were left there for a few days. For more than 10 days no police officer visited this area, which is a suburb of the Dacca city and was one of the worst affected

areas. In Dacca city several Hindu temples were desecrated and idols were broken. The 70-year old priest of the Anandamoyee Ashram at Dacca, which is within a stone's throw from the Prime Minister's residence was stabbed to death in broad day light and the Ashram was looted.

Killings in Railways and Steamers

Besides these killings in town and villages of different districts a very large number of Hindu passengers travelling by train, steamer and buses during this period were killed. Most of such killings took place at Talshahar and Bhairab Bazar stations where trains were stopped and armed goondas got into the compartments and butchered the Hindu passengers. At Bhairab Bazar the trains were stopped on the bridge to allow the murderers to throw the dead and injured into the river below. At other places the dead and the injured were just thrown out into the fields alongside the railway line. There is a large number of eye witnesses to these cold-blooded murders. To cite only two, we may m ntion the names of widows of professor Jyotish Chandra Das of the Kishoreganj College and Babu Nagendra Nath Chatterjee, an Inspector of Civil Supplies of the East Bengal Government posted at the time of his death in Bakerganj district. Similarly a large number of Hindu passengers on board the steamers as well as those waiting at different steamer stations were killed.

Apart from the above killings on trains steamers and buses three passenger trains were attacked by armed mobs, one at Surjanagar near Rajbari station on the 25th February and two at Santahar on the 28th February. The attack on the last two trains were made within an hour of each other and in all cases in the presence of armed guards travelling in these trains. The casualties caused in the first train are reported to be seven dead and 25 injured and those on the other two trains near 200 dead and injured.

Incidents and Harassments Still Continuing

Before the situation could settle down to normalcy reports of fresh outbreak of lawlessness in isolated way and in trains are pouring in....................unauthorised and humiliating searches and harassments of persons and belongings of the travellers in railway and steamer stations and on the way persist everywhere. Gold ornaments and other valuables are seized and taken away. The ladies are subjected to personal searches by males, customs, police, Ansars and other non-official elements in almost all places in an objectionable manner. Extortion of money from the passengers by threats or other coercive methods takes place. Snatching away of articles is often reported. Unnecessary oppression by prolonging searches is

being indulged in so that the travellers may fail to pursue the normal journey, while their belongings are thrown pell-mell No remedy from any quarters Station staff was found generally callous and indifferent. There is also the unchecked high-handedness of the coolies, cooly hire charges varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10/- for each load. Accomodation in and guarding of railway compartments reserved for minorities is insufficient. Similar is the case with ferry steamer—at different points.

Economic boycott has also started. Hindus are not allowed to sell their movables or other articles or properties. Houses vacant or otherwise, are being forcibly occupied in rural areas also.

Generally persons leaving the province are not finding any safe passage yet. **13.3.50**, Daughter-in-law of Sri Umes Dev of Mymensingh town was robbed of her trunk and sewing machine at Pradyotnagar station on her way to Mymensingh. Gopal Chandra De was attacked just near the Narudi railway station and robbed of his suit-case and wrist-watch. **14.3.50** Jatindra Karmakar of Mymensingh town went to railway station with a platform ticket to see off his daughter. He was subjected to search by customs official unnecessarily and Rs. 43/- in Pakistan currency was taken away. On other's intervention money was later on returned but in Indian currency.

15.3.50. 30 to 40 persons of Halija village in Jamalpur sub-division of Mymensingh district were searched by a 'Daroga' at Dharmakura railway station while coming to Mymensingh. From him Rs. 300/- were extorted by the Daroga.

The wife of Lalit Karmakar of village Paratala under Sibpur P.S. in Dacca district was taken away and returned next morning after ravishing her. Six Hindu houses in village Shampur under P.S. Melandah in Jamalpur sub-division were raided and looted twice on 14-3-50 and 15-3-50.

Robbery took place in the house of Jamini K. Paul of Manki under P.S. Melandah in Jamalpur sub-division in Mymensingh district and two unmarried daughters of Jamini Babu carried away. A girl from Noapara under P.S. Kendua (Mymensingh) was forcibly taken away in the evening and returned in the morning after rape.

16-3-50. Some incidents were reported from Kaorai locality (Dacca district) involving looting and murder.

17-3-50. Members of the family of Sri Jitendra Chakravarti. teacher of Jubilee School, Dacca, were robbed of all belongings by Muslims on the way while coming to Dacca from Outshahi between Betka and Outshahi,

A telegram from Bar Library, Jamalpur (Mymensingh district) reads : Lawlessness rampant in villages, spreading daily. Evacuees passing raided on way. No stern action.

18-3-50 Three or four days back the house of a Hindu widow in village Kumargata under P.S. Muktagacha (Mymensingh) was raided and looted. The widow was stabbed to death.

The above account of complete lawlessness throughout a large part of the province for a period of nearly 15 days is merely illustrative and not exhaustive. The magnitude of the loss of life and property can be correctly estimated only by a thorough enquiry by an independent tribunal. The aftermath of this widespread disturbances is more terrific. Vast masses of people have been rendered destitute and homeless within a few hours and they are now either moving about from door to door to eke out a miserable existence or are so panic-stricken that they are trying to leave this country for places of safety. The problem of restoring confidence and sense of security among these millions and rehabilitating them in their original homes needs the immediate attention of the government. Up till now nothing tangible appears to have been done in this direction. A rehabilitation grant of Rs. 10/- to Rs. 20/- per family which was doled out to some of the inmates of the refugee camps in the city of Dacca was insufficient even for the purpose of their daily existence for a week.

Circumstances surrounding us are so bewildering that we naturally feel a bit hesitant to offer any suggestions as to the way out of the crisis. Still we feel that we should put forward some points for your dispassionate consideration in regard to the fundamental approach to the problems and the background thereof. Politically judged, all the present maladies in our opinion, are traceable to the theocratic (Islamic) concept of the State, in which an idea of discriminating between different elements of the state on religious basis is inherent. Such an outlook has already been engendered in the minds of the general people (whether administrative personnel or not) much to the detriment, of the interests of the minorities resulting in treating the minorities as mere 'Jimmies' with all its obnoxious implications and humiliations. Unless this outlook is fundamentally got rid of, there seems to be no possibility of any change for the better being effected in the lot of the minorities. Constant and unremitting emphasis on the character of the state as an Islamic one, evokes the proselytising and general communal zeal of the dogmatically minded members of the majority community. From our bitter yet long experience we can make bold to say that this outlook has inevitably created prejudices against the minorities and has its extensive and intensive and baneful reaction in all spheres of

our public life, political, economic and administrative. Particular mention in passing may here be made of the evil effects of this outlook as reflected in the actual application of the policies of education, gun-seizure, house-requisitioning, detention and arrests. This outlook requires a radical change to prevent any recurrence of troubles, major or minor.

So, we humbly suggest that the state should be declared to be "secular democratic" and further that the minorities should be treated as equal citizens with equal rights and obligations as the members of the majority community.

As we have stated earlier, we are sorely interested in a permanent solution of the problem. Nothing short of that can meet the situation as it has developed, which essentially calls for a thoroughly radical approach. Mere platitudinous statement from high or low quarters cannot instil the desired confidence and sense of security, unless these are backed up by concrete, straight and drastic actions and implementations. Still to meet some immediate demands of the stern realities we are in, we venture to suggest the following —

(1) Drastic punishments to the wrong-doers in different affected parts of the province. For that purpose immediate intensive and impartial investigation should be made and to find out and arrest the wrong-doers. There should be vigorous and extensive searches for looted articles also. Having regard to the colossal nature of the havoc caused by the happenings and to the fact that the causes and facts thereof are so patent, self-evident and telling that there is hardly any necessity for merely any fact-finding committee.

(2) The investigation should be conducted in such a way as would demonstrably help removal of insecurity and panic from the minds of the actual sufferers and of other members of the minority community in general.

(3) Imposition of punitive tax in the affected areas on the section of the people who are responsible for the happenings.

(4) District authorities are to be warned not to be lackadaisical about complaints of the minority members regarding complaints of oppression on them of any nature whatsoever.

(5) For fostering confidence in the minds of the minority community and to bring back their sense of security, intensive propaganda throughout the province should be organised with the help of responsible leaders and persons of goodwill and sympathy.

Vigilance committee composed of persons of influence and integrity in different areas should be set up. Strict control of the press and the radio should be ensured so that writings tending to foster communal hatred and setting class against class may be altogether stopped.

(6) Steps should be taken to find out persons missing while travelling by trains, steamers and other means of transport or otherwise untraced in the wake of troubles and also to find out the wayfarers on foot still missing

(7) Immediate and effective steps for recovering the abducted women should be taken.

(8) Trains and steamers should be provided with armed guard more adequately.

(9) Enquiries should be undertaken to find out the railway officials on the train and at different stations, who are alleged to have taken parts in murder and stabbing of passengers and looting of properties from trains.

III. Particular enquiries into the conduct of the G.R.P. should be undertaken for neglect of duty in regard to prevention of crimes and non-arrest of persons committing crimes in trains and at various stations openly in broad daylight even.

(10) Independent enquiry should be held as to the conduct of those government officials, police or Ansars who are alleged to have helped or connived at the commission of atrocities.

(11) Release of all persons of the minority community arrested during the period of disturbances. Particular mention may here be made of a fairly large number of arrests in Khulna in a sweeping manner.

(12) Full compensation for life should be paid to the families of those persons who were done to death in different places during the disturbances including persons murdered during the course of journey by train and steamer etc.

(13) Full compensation should be paid for the loss of properties. Immediate relief in the shape of free rations and rehabilitation grant and house constructions should be given.

(14) Full compensation for temples desecrated and looted should be paid.

(15) Generally the precautionary and protective arrangements throughout the province (in urban and rural areas) should be more tightened.

(16) Those who want to go away should be ensured uninterrupted and safe passage. Due facility and protection should be given to them. No customs searches should be held on the way inside the province. Customs formalities at the transit point at the borders also should be fairly relaxed, if not withdrawn temporarily.

(17) Measures should be taken so that no restriction or obstruction may be put in the way of selling the movable or immovable properties of the minorities.

(18) A Board should be set up consisting of the members of both the communities to examine writings in newspapers and report to Government from time to time against any newspaper that may be found offending against maintenance of good relations between two communities by encouraging communal and class hatred.

(19) Indiscriminate arrests on mere vague allegations of anti-state-activities without sufficiently tangible grounds should be stopped.

(20) Indiscriminate requisition and forcible occupation of houses of the minority community members should be stopped.

(21) Payment of rent of the requisitioned houses should be speeded up with definite objective of clearing of all arrears within a period of two months.

(22) Requisitioned guns of the members of the minority community (even if sold out) should be immediately returned to them. Fresh licenses should be granted to these members of the minority community who may apply for the same for protection of their life and property.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Basanta Kumar Dass
Sd/- Ganendra Nath Bhattacharjee
Sd/- Munindra Nath Bhattacharjee
Sd/- Haran Chandra Ghosh Choudhury
Sd/- Monoranjan Dhar

Dated 20th March, 1950.

APPENDIX III

NEHRU - LIAQUAT AGREEMENT

A. The Governments of India and Pakistan Solemnly agree that each shall ensure to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces. Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the state of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Governments of their own state that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

B. In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments,

(i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit;

(ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150/- and to each migrant child Rs. 75/-.

(iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be furnished

to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required, for their transfer to him, subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned;

(iv) That there shall be no harassment by the Customs authorities. At each Customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice;

(v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immoveable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him provided that he comes back by the 31st December, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immoveable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice.

Where restoration of immoveable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.

(vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immoveable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A Commitee consisting of three representatives of the minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immoveable property according to law.

The Government of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government as the case may be will instruct the District or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions.

The provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply

to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof.

C. As regards the Province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall :

(1) Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

(2) Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences. In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed where necessary. Special Courts will where necessary be appointed to ensure that wrong-doers are promptly punished.

(3) Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

(4) Set up immediately an agency with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

(5) Not recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be a forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

(6) Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to enquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

(7) Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by press or radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be vigorously dealt with.

(8) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda.

D. Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of C of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.

E. In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes the two Governments have decided (i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary; (ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

F. In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below.

(i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Governments concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.

(ii) Two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementaion of this Agreement.

(iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in Districts and small administrative head quarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 194 .

(v) The Minority Commission in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Board set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.

(vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be:-

(a) To observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect.

(b) To advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan and the State and Provincial Governments, will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E. the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

G. Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948 shall remain in force.

Jawahar Lal Nehru
Prime Minister of India.

Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister of Pakistan.

New Delhi
8th April, 1950.

APPENDIX IV

Mr. Mandal's Letter of Resignation

To

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan

Oct. 9, 1950

My dear Prime Minister,

It is with a heavy heart and a sense of utter frustration at the failure of my life-long mission to uplift the backward Hindu masses of East Bengal that I feel compelled to tender resignation of my membership of your Cabinet. It is proper that I should set forth in detail the reasons which have prompted me to take this decision at this important juncture of the history of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent.

1. Before I narrate the remote and immediate causes of my resignation, it may be useful to give a short background of important events that have taken place during the period of my co-operation with the League. Having been approached by a few prominent League leaders of Bengal in February, 1943, I agreed to work with them in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. After the fall of the Fazlul Huq Ministry in March 1943, with a party of 21 Scheduled Caste M.L.As. I agreed to co-operate with Khwaja Nazimuddin, the then leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party who formed the Cabinet in April, 1943. Our co-operation was conditional on some specific terms such as the inclusion of three Scheduled Caste Ministers in the Cabinet, sanctioning of a sum of rupees five lakhs as annual recurring grant for the education of the Scheduled Castes, and unqualified implementation of the communal ratio rules in the matter of appointment to Government services.

2. Apart from those terms, the principal objectives that prompted me to work in co-operation with the Muslim League was, first, that the economic interests of the Muslims in Bengal generally were identical with those of the Scheduled Castes. Muslims were mostly cultivators and labourers so were members of the Scheduled Castes. One section of Muslims was fishermen, so was a section of Scheduled Castes as well, secondly, the objective was that the Scheduled Castes and Muslims both educationally and economically backward, I was persuaded that my cooperation with the League and its Ministry would lead to the undertaking on a wide-scale of Legislative and Administrative measures which, while promoting the mutual welfare of the vast bulk of Bengal's population and undermining the foundations of vested interest and privilege would further the cause of communal peace and harmony. It may be mentioned here that Khawaja Nazimuddin took three Scheduled Caste Ministers in his Cabinet and appointed three Parliamentary Secretaries from amongst the members of my community.

Suhrawardy Ministry

3. After the general election held in March, 1946, Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy became the leader of the League Parliamentary Party and formed the League Ministry in April 1946. I was the only Scheduled Castes member returned on the Federation ticket. I was included in Mr. Suhrawardy's Cabinet. The 16th day of August of that year was observed in Calcutta as the 'Direct Action Day' by the Muslim League. It resulted, as you know, in a holocaust. Hindus demanded my resignation from the League Ministry. My life was in peril, I began to receive threatening letters almost every day. But I remained steadfast to my policy. Moreover, I issued an appeal through our journal "Jagaran" to the Scheduled Caste people to keep themselves aloof from the bloody fued between the Congress and the Muslim League, even at the risk of my life. I cannot but gratefully acknowledge the fact that I was saved from the wrath of infuriated Hindu mobs by my Caste Hindu neighbours. The Calcutta carnage was followed by the "Noakhali Riot" in October, 1946. There, Hindus including Scheduled Castes were killed and hundreds were converted to Islam. Hindu women were raped and abducted. Members of my community also suffered loss of life and property. Immediately after these happenings I visited Tipperah and Feni and saw some riot-affected areas. The terrible sufferings of Hindus overwhelmed me with grief, but still I continued the policy of co-operation with the Muslim League.

4. In October, 1946, most unexpectedly came to me through Mr. Suhrawardy the offer of a seat in the Interim Government of India. After a good deal of hesitation—and I was given only one hour's time to take my final decision—I consented to accept the offer subject to this condition only that I should be permitted to resign if my leader Dr. B.R. Ambedkar disapproved of my action. Fortunately, however, I received his approval in a telegram sent from London. Before I left for Delhi to take over as Law Member, I persuaded Mr. Suhrawardy, the then Chief Minister of Bengal, to agree to

take two Ministers in his Cabinet in my place and to appoint two Parliamentary Secretaries from the Scheduled Caste Federation Group.

5. I joined the Interim Government on November 1, 1946. After about a month when I paid a visit to Calcutta Mr. Suhrawardy intimated to me that the communal tension in some parts of East Bengal, especially the Gopalganj subdivision, where the Namasudras were in a majority, was very high. He requested me to visit those areas and address meetings of Muslims and Namasudras. The fact was that Namasudras in those areas had made preparations for retaliation. I addressed about a dozen largely-attended meetings. The result was that Namasudras gave up the idea of retaliation. Thus an inevitable dangerous communal disturbance was averted.

6. After a few months the British Government made their June 3 statement (1947) embodying certain proposals for the partition of India. The whole country, specially the entire non-Muslim India was startled. For the sake of truth, I must admit that I had always considered the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League as a bargaining counter. Although I honestly felt that in the context of India as a whole Muslims had legitimate cause for grievance against upper class Hindu chauvinism, I held the view very strongly indeed that the creation of Pakistan would never solve the communal problem. On the contrary, it would aggravate communal hatred and bitterness. Besides, I maintained that it would not ameliorate the condition of Muslims in Pakistan. The inevitable result of the partition of the country would be to prolong, if not perpetuate, the poverty, illiteracy and miserable condition of the toiling masses of both the States. I further apprehended that Pakistan might turn to be one of the most backward and undeveloped countries of the South-East Asia region.

Lahore Resolution

7. I must make it clear that I have thought that an attempt would be made, as is being done at present, to develop Pakistan as a purely 'Islamic' State based on the Shariat and the injunction and formularies of Islam. I presumed that it would be set up in all essentials after the pattern contemplated in the Muslim League resolution adopted at Lahore on March 23, 1940. That resolution stated 'inter alia' that (1) "geographically contiguous areas are demarcated into, regions, which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign"

and (2) "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them". Implicit in this formula were (a) that the north-western and eastern Muslim zones should be constituted into two Independent States, (b) that the constituent units of these States should be autonomous and sovereign, (c) that minorities guarantees should be in respect of rights as well as of interests and extend to every sphere of their life; and (d) that Constitutional provisions should be made in these regards in consultation with the minorities themselves.

I was fortified in my faith in this resolution and the professions of the League leadership by the statement Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah was pleased to make on the 11th August, 1947, as the President of the Constituent Assembly giving solemn assurances of equal treatment for Hindus and Muslims alike and calling upon them to remember that they were all Pakistanis. There was then no question of dividing the people on the basis of religion into full-fledged Muslim citizens and gimmies being under the perpetual custody of the Islamic State and its Muslim citizens. Everyone of these pledges is being flagrantly violated apparently to your knowledge and with your approval in complete disregard of the Qaid-e-Azam's wishes and sentiments and to the detriment and humiliation of the minorities.

Partition of Bengal

8. It may also be mentioned in this connection that I was opposed to the partition of Bengal. In launching a campaign in this regard I had to face not only tremendous resistance from all quarters but also unspeakable abuse, insult and dishonour. With great regret I recollect those days when 32 crores of Hindus of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent turned their back against me and dubbed me as the enemy of Hindus and Hinduism, but I remained undaunted and unswerved in my loyalty to Pakistan. It is a matter of gratitude that my appeal to 7 million scheduled castes people of Pakistan evoked a ready and enthusiastic response from them. They lent me their unstinted support, sympathy and encouragement.

9. After the establishment of Pakistan on August 14, 1947 you formed the Pakistan Cabinet, in which I was included and Khwaja Nazimuddin formed a provisional Cabinet for East Bengal. On August 10, I spoke to Khwaja Nazimuddin at Karachi and requested him to take two scheduled caste Ministers in the East Bengal Cabinet. He

promised to do the same sometime later. What happened subsequently in this regard was a record of unpleasant and disappointing negotiations with you, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr. Nurul Amin, the present Chief Minister of East Bengal. When I realised that Khwaja Nazimuddin was avoiding the issue on this or that excuse, I became almost impatient and exasperated. I further discussed the matter with the Presidents of the Pakistan Muslim League and its East Bengal Branch. Ultimately I brought the matter to your notice. You were pleased to discuss the subject with Khwaja Nazimuddin in my presence at your residence. Khwaja Nazimuddin agreed to take one scheduled caste Minister on his return to Dacca. As I had already become sceptic about the assurance of Khwaja Nazimuddin, I wanted to be definite about the time-limit. I insisted that he must act in this regard within a month, failing which I should be at liberty to resign. Both you and Khwaja Nazimuddin agreed to the condition. But, alas ! You did not perhaps mean what you said. Khwaja Nazimuddin did not keep his promise. After Mr. Nurul Amin had become Chief Minister of East Bengal, I again took up the matter with him. He also followed the same old familiar tactics of evasion. When I again called your attention to this matter prior to your visit to Dacca in 1949, you were pleased to assure me that a Minority Minister would be appointed in East Bengal, and you asked names from me for consideration. In deference to your wish, I sent you a note stating the strength of the Federation Group in the East Bengal Assembly and suggesting three names. When I made enquiries as to what had happened on your return from Dacca, you appeared to be very cold and only remarked : "Let Nurul Amin return from Delhi". After a few days I again pressed the matter. But you avoided the issue. I was then forced to come to the conclusion that neither you nor Mr. Nurul Amin had any intention to take any scheduled caste Minister in the East Bengal Cabinet. Apart from this, I was noticing that Mr. Nurul Amin and some League leaders of East Bengal were trying to create disruption among the members of the Scheduled Caste Federation. It appeared to me that my leadership and widespread popularity was considered ominous. My outspokenness, vigilance and sincere efforts to safeguard the interests of the minorities of Pakistan in general and of the Scheduled castes in particular, were considered a matter of annoyance to the East Bengal Government and a few League leaders. Undaunted I took my firm stand to safeguard the interest of the minorities of Pakistan.

Anti-Hindu Policy

10. When the question of partition of Bengal arose the scheduled castes people were alarmed at the anticipated dangerous result of partition. Representations on their behalf were made to Mr. Suhrawardy, the then Chief Minister of Bengal who was pleased to issue a statement to the press declaring that none of the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by the scheduled caste people would be curtailed after partition and that they would not only continue to enjoy the existing rights and privileges but also receive additional advantages. This assurance was given by Mr. Suhrawardy not only in his personal capacity but also in his capacity as the Chief Minister of the League Ministry. To my utter regret it is to be stated that after partition, particularly after the death of the Quaid-E-Azam, the Scheduled castes have not received a fair deal in any matter. You will recollect that from time to time I brought the grievances of the scheduled castes to your notice. I explained to you on several occasions the nature of inefficient administration in East Bengal. I made serious charges against the police administration. I brought to your notice incidents of barbarous atrocities perpetrated by the police on frivolous grounds.

I did not hesitate to bring to your notice the anti-Hindu policy pursued by the East Bengal Government, especially the police administration and a section of Muslim League leaders.

Some Incidents

11. The first incident that shocked me took place at a village called Digharkul near Gopalganj where on the false complaint of a Muslim brutal atrocities were committed on local Namasudras. The fact was that a Muslim who was going in a boat attempted to throw his net to catch fish. A Namasudra who was already there for the same purpose objected. This was followed by altercations and the Muslim got annoyed and went to the nearby Muslim village and made a false complaint that he and a woman in his boat had been assaulted by the Namasudra. The S.D.O. of Gopalganj was then passing that way in a boat. Without making any equiry he accepted the complaint as true and sent armed police to the spot to punish the Namasudras. The armed police came and the local Muslims also joined them. They not only raided some houses of Namasudras but mercilessly beat both men and women, destroyed their properties and took away valuables.

The merciless beating of a pregnant woman resulted in abortion on the spot. This brutal action on the part of the local authority created panic over a large area.

12. The second incident of police oppression took place in early part of 1949 under P. S. Gournadi in the district of Barisal. Here a quarrel took place between two groups of members of a Union Board. One group which was in the good

book of the police conspired to punish the opponents on the plea of their being communists. On the false information of a threat of attack in the police station, the O. C. Gournadi requisitioned armed forces from Headquarters. The police, helped by the armed forces, then raided a large number of houses in the area, took away valuable properties, even from the houses of absentee owners who were never in politics, far less in the Communist Party. A large number of persons over a wide area were arrested. Teachers and students of many High English Schools were unnecessarily harassed. This area being very near to my native village I was informed of the incident. I wrote to the District Magistrate and the S. P. for an enquiry. A section of the local people also prayed for an enquiry by the S.D.O. But no enquiry was held. Even my letters to the District authorities were not acknowledged. I then brought this matter to the notice of the highest authority in Pakistan, including yourself but to no avail.

Women for Military

13. The atrocities perpetrated by the police and the military on the innocent Hindus, especially the Scheduled Castes, of Habibganj in the Dist. of Sylhet beggar description. Innocent men and women were brutally tortured, several women ravished, their houses raided and properties looted by the police and the local Muslims. Military pickets were posted in the area. The military not only oppressed these people and took away foodstuffs forcibly from Hindu houses, but forced Hindus to send their womenfolk at night to the camp to satisfy the carnal desire of the military. This fact also I brought to your notice. You assured me a report on the matter, but unfortunately no report was forthcoming.

14. Then occurred the incident at Nachole in the district of Rajshahi where in the name of suppression of communists not only the police but the local Muslims, in collaboration with the police oppressed the Hindus and looted their properties. The Santals there crossed the border and came over to West Bengal. They narrated the stories of atrocities want only committed by the Muslims and the police.

15. An instance of callous and cold-blooded brutality is furnished by the incident that took place on December 20, 1949 in Kalshira under P. S. Mallahat in the District of Khulna. What happened was that late at night four constables raided the house of the Joydev Brahma in village Kalshira in search of some alleged communists. At the scent of the police, half a dozen young men, some of whom might have been communists escaped from the house. The police constables entered the house and assaulted the wife of Joydev Brahma whose cry attracted her husband and a few companions who escaped from

the house. They became desperate, re-entered the house, found 4 constables with one gun only. That perhaps might have encouraged the youngmen who struck a blow on an armed constable who died on the spot. The young men then attacked another constable when the other two ran away and raised alarm which attracted some neighbouring people who came to their rescue. As the incident took place before sunrise when it was dark, the assailants fled with the dead body before the villagers could come.

The S.P. of Khulna with a contingent of military and armed police appeared on the scene in the afternoon of the following day. In the meantime, the assailants fled and the intelligent neighbhours also fled away. But the bulk of the villagers remained in their houses as they were absolutely innocent and failed to realise the consequences of the happening. Subsequently the S P. the military and armed police began to beat mercilessly the innocent inhabitants of the entire village, encouraged the neighbouring Muslims to take away their properties. A number of persons were killed and men and women were forcibly converted. Household deities were broken and places of worship desecrated and destroyed. Several women were raped by the police, military and local Muslims. Thus a veritable hell was let loose not only on the village of Kalshira which is 1½ miles in length with a large population, but also in a number of neighbouring Namasudra villages. The village Kalshira was never suspected by the authority to be a place of communist activities. Another village, called Jhalardangan, which was at a distance of 3 miles from Kalshira was known to be a centre of communist activities. This village was raided by a large contingent of police on that day for hunt of the alleged communists, a number of whom fled away and took shelter in the aforesaid house of village Kalshira which was considered to be a safe place for them.

16. I visited Kalshira and one or two neighbouring villages on the 28th February, 1950. The S. P., Khulna and some of the prominent League leaders of the district were with me. When I came to the village Kalshira, I found the place desolate and in ruins I was told in the presence of S.P. that there were 350 homesteads in this village, of these only three had been spared and the rest had been demolished. Country boats, and heads of cattle belonging to the Namasudras had been all taken away. I reported these facts to the Chief Minister, the Chief Secretary and the Inspector-General of Police of East Bengal and to you.

17. It may be mentioned in this connection that the news of this incident was published in West Bengal press and this created some unrest among the Hindus there. A number of sufferers of Kalshira, both men and women, homeless and

destitute had also come to Calcutta and narrated the stories of their sufferings which resulted in some communal disturbance in West Bengal in the last part of January.

Causes of the February Disturbances

18. It must be noted that stories of a few incidents of communal disturbance that took place in West Bengal as a sort of repercussion of the incidents of Kalshira were published in exaggerated form in the East Bengal press. In the second week of February, 1950 when the Budget Session of the East Bengal Assembly commenced, the Congress Members sought permission to move the adjournment motions to discuss the situation created at Kalshira and Nachole. But the motions were disallowed. The Congress members walked out of the Assembly in protest. This action of the Hindu members of the Assembly annoyed and enraged not only the Ministers but the Muslim leaders and officials of the Province. This is perhaps one of the principal reasons for Dacca and East Bengal riots of February, 1950.

19. It is significant that on February 10, 1950 at about 10 O'clock in the morning a woman was painted with red to show that her breast was cut off in Calcutta riot and was taken round the East Bengal Secretariat at Dacca. Immediately the Government servants of the Secretariat struck work and came out in procession raising slogans of revenge against the Hindus. The procession began to swell as it passed over a distance of more than a mile. It ended in a meeting at Victoria Park at about 14 O'clock in the noon where violent speeches against the Hindus were delivered by several speakers, including officials. The fun of the whole show was that while the employees of the Secretariat went out in procession, the Chief Secretary of the East Bengal Government was holding a conference with his West Bengal opposite number in the same building, to find out ways and means to stop communal disturbances in the two Bengals.

Officials helped Looters with Help & Direction

20. The riot started at about 1 p.m. simultaneously all over the city. Arson, looting of Hindu shops and houses, and killing of Hindus wherever they were found, commenced in full swing in all parts of the city. I got evidence even from the Muslims that arson and looting were committed in the presence of high police officials. Jewellery shops belonging to Hindus were looted in the presence of police officers. They not only did not attempt to stop loot, but also helped the looters with advice and direction. Unfortunately for me I reached Dacca at 5 O'clock in the afternoon on the same day, that is February 10, 1950. To my utter dismay I had occasion

to see and know things at close quarters. What I saw and learnt from first-hand information was simply staggering and heart-rending.

Police Background of the Riot

21. The reasons for the Dacca riot were mainly five :—

(1) To punish the Hindus for the daring action of their representatives in the Assembly in their expression of protest by walking out of the Assembly when two adjournment motions on Kalshira and Nachole affairs were disallowed.

(2) Dissensions and differences between the Suhrawardy Group and the Nazimuddin Group in the League Parliamentary Party were becoming acute.

(3) Apprehension of launching of a movement for re-union of East and West Bengal by both Hindu and Muslim leaders made the East Bengal Ministry and the Muslim League nervous. They wanted to prevent such a move. They thought that any large scale communal riot in East Bengal was sure to produce reactions in West Bengal where Muslims might be killed. The result of such riots in both East and West Bengal, it was believed, would prevent any move for re-union of Bengals.

(4) Feeling of antagonism between the Bengalee Muslims and non-Bengalee Muslims in East Bengal was gaining ground. This could only be prevented by creating hatred between Hindus and Muslims of East Bengal. The language question was also connected with it.

(5) The consequences of non-devaluation and the Indo-Pakistan trade deadlock to the economy of East Bengal were being felt most acutely both in urban and rural areas and the Muslim League members and officials wanted to divert the attention of the Muslim masses from the impending economic breakdown by some sort of jehad against Hindus.

Staggering Details : Nearly 10,000 Killed

22. During my nine days' stay at Dacca, I visited most of the riot-affected areas of the city and suburbs. I visited Mirpur also under P. S. Tejgaon. The news of the killing of hundreds of innocent Hindus in trains, on railway lines between Dacca and Narayanganj, and Dacca and Chittagong gave me the rudest shock. On the second day of Dacca riot I saw the Chief Minister of East Bengal and requested him to issue immediate instructions to the District authorities to

take all precautionary measures to prevent spreading of the riot in district towns and rural areas. On the 20th February, 1950 I reached Barisal town and was astounded to know of the happenings in Barisal. In the district town a number of Hindu houses were burnt and a large number of Hindus killed. I visited almost all riot-affected areas in the district. I was simply puzzled to find the havoc wrought by the Muslim rioters even at places like Kasipur, Madhabpasha and Lakutia which were within a radius of six miles from the district town and were connected with motorable roads. At the Madhabpasha Zamindar's house about 200 people were killed and 40 injured. A place, called Muladi, witnessed a dreadful hell. At Muladi Bandar alone the number killed would total more than three hundred, as was reported to me by the local Muslims including some officers. I visited Muladi village also, where I found skeletons of dead bodies at some places. I found dogs and vultures eating corpses on the riverside. I got the information there that after the wholesale killing of all adult males, all the young girls were distributed among the ringleaders of the miscreants. At a place called Kalbartakhali under P. S. Rajapur, 53 persons were killed. Hindu houses within a stone's throw from the said Thana Office were looted, burnt and inmates killed. All Hindu shops of Babuganj Bazar were looted and then burnt and a large number of Hindus were killed. From detailed information received the conservative estimates of casualties was placed at 2,500 killed in the district of Barisal alone. Total casualties of Dacca and East Bengal riots were estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 killed. I was really overwhelmed with grief. The lamentation of women and children who had lost their all including near and dear ones melted my heart. I only asked myself "what was coming to Pakistan in the name of Islam".

No Earnest Desire to Implement Delhi Pact

23. The large scale exodus of Hindus from East Bengal commenced in the latter part of March. It appeared that within a short time all the Hindus would migrate to India.

A war cry was raised in India. The situation became extremely critical. A national calamity appeared to be inevitable. The apprehended disaster, however, was avoided by the Delhi Agreement of April 8.

With a view to revive the already lost morale of the panicky Hindus, I undertook an extensive tour of East Bengal. I visited a number of places in the districts of Dacca, Barisal, Faridpur, Khulna and Jessore. I addressed dozens of largely attended meetings and asked the Hindus to take courage and not to leave their ancestral hearths and homes.

I had this expectation that the East Bengal Government and Muslim League leaders would implement the terms of the Delhi Agreement.

But with the lapse of time I began to realise that neither the East Bengal Government nor the Muslim League leaders were really earnest in the matter of implementation of the Delhi Agreement.

The East Bengal Government was not only much too slow to set up a machinery as envisaged in the Delhi Agreement, but also was not willing to take effective steps for the purpose. A number of Hindus who returned to their native villages immediately after the Delhi Agreement were not given possession of their homes and lands which were occupied in the meantime by Muslims.

Maulana Akram Khan's Incitations

24. My suspicion about the intention of League leaders was confirmed when I read editorial comments by Maulana Akram Khan, the President of the Provincial Muslim League in the 'Baisakh' issue of a monthly journal called 'Mahammadi'. In commenting in the first radio-broadcast of Dr. A M. Malek, Minister for Minority Affairs of Pakistan, from Dacca Radio Station, wherein he said "even Prophet Mohammed had given religious freedom to the Jews in Arabia", Maulana Akram Khan said, "Dr. Malek would have done well had he not made any reference in his speech to the Jews of Arabia. It is true that the Jews in Arabia had been given religious freedom by Prophet Mohammed ; but it was the first chapter of the history. The last chapter contains the definite direction of Prophet Mohammed which runs as follows :

'Drive away all the Jews out of Arabia'.

Even despite this editorial comment of a person who held a very high position in the political, social and spiritual life of the Muslim community, I entertained some expectation that the Nurul Amin Ministry might not be so insincere. But that expectation of mine was totally shattered when Mr. Nurul Amin selected, Mr. D.N. Barori as a Minister to represent the minorities in terms of the Delhi Agreement which clearly states that to restore confidence in the minds of the minorities one of their representatives will be taken respectively in the Ministry of East Bengal and that of West Bengal.

Nurul Amin Govt.'s Insincerity

25. In one of my public statements I expressed the view that the appointment of D.N. Barori as a Minister representing the minorities not only did not help restore any confidence, but on the contrary destroyed all expectations or illusions, if there was any in the minds of the minorities about the sincerity of

Mr. Nurul Amin's Government. My own reaction was that Mr. Nurul Amin's Govt. was not only insincere but wanted to defeat the principal objectives of the Delhi Agreement. I again repeat that D.N. Barori does not represent anybody except himself. He was returned to the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket with the money and organisation of the Congress. He opposed the Scheduled Caste Federation candidates. Some time after his election, he betrayed the Congress and joined the Federation. When he was appointed a Minister he had ceased to be a Member of the Federation too. I know that East Bengal Hindus agree with me that by antecedents, character and intellectual attainments Barori is not qualified to hold the position of a Minister as envisaged in the Delhi Agreement.

26. I recommended three names to Mr. Nurul Amin for this office. One of the persons I recommended was an M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Dacca Court. He was Minister for more than 4 years in the first Fazlul Huq Ministry in Bengal. He was chairman of the Coal Mines Stowing Board, Calcutta, for about 6 years. He was the senior Vice-President of the Scheduled Caste Federation. My second nominee was a B.A., L.L.B. He was a member of the Legislative Council for 7 years in the pre-reform regime. I would like to know what earthly reasons there might be for Mr. Nurul Amin's not selecting any of these two gentlemen and appointing instead a person whose appointment as Minister I strongly objected to for very weighty considerations. Without any fear of contradiction I can say that this action of Mr. Nurul Amin, in selecting Barori as a Minister in terms of the Delhi Agreement is conclusive proof that the East Bengal Govt. was neither serious nor sincere in its professions about the terms of the Delhi Agreement whose main purpose is to create such conditions as would enable the Hindus to continue to live in East Bengal with a sense of security to their life, property, honour and religion.

Govt. Plans to Squeeze out Hindus

27. I would like to reiterate in this connection my firm conviction that the East Bengal Govt. is still following the well-planned policy of squeezing Hindus out of the Province.

In my discussion with you on more than one occasion I gave expression to this view of mine. I must say that this policy of driving out Hindus from Pakistan has succeeded completely in West Pakistan and is nearing completion in East Pakistan too. The appointment of D.N. Barori as a Minister and the East Bengal Government's unceremonious rejection of my recommendation in this regard strictly conform to the norm of what they call an Islamic State. Pakistan has not given the Muslim League entire satisfaction and a full sense of security.

They now want to get rid of the Hindu intelligentsia so that the political, economic and social life of Pakistan may not in any way be influenced by them.

Evasive Tactics to Shelve Joint Electorate

28. I have failed to understand why the question of electorate has not yet been decided. It is now three years that the Minority Sub-Committee has been appointed. It sat on three occasions. The question of having joint or separate electorate came up for consideration at a meeting of the Committee held in December last when all the representatives of recognised minorities in Pakistan expressed their view in support of joint electorate with reservation of seats for backward minorities. We, on behalf of the Scheduled Castes, demanded joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes. This matter again came up for consideration at a meeting called in August last. But without any discussion whatsoever on this point, the meeting was adjourned sine die It is not difficult to understand what the motive is behind this kind of evasive tactics in regard to such a vital matter on the part of Pakistan's rulers.

Dismal Future For Hindus

29. Coming now to the present condition and the future of Hindus in East Bengal as a result of the Delhi Agreement, I should say that the present condition is not only unsatisfactory but absolutely hopeless and that the future is completely dark and dismal. Confidence of Hindus in East Bengal has not been restored in the least. The Agreement is treated as a mere scrap of paper alike by the East Bengal Government and the Muslim League. That a pretty large number of Hindu migrants mostly Scheduled Caste cultivators are returning to East Bengal is no indication that confidence has been restored. It only indicates that their stay and rehabilitation in West Bengal, or elsewhere in the Indian Union have not been possible. The sufferings of refugee life are compelling them to go back to their homes. Besides, many of them are going back to bring movable articles and settle or dispose of immovable properties. That no serious communal disturbance has recently taken place in East Bengal is not to be attributed to the Delhi Agreement. It could not simply continue even if there were no Agreement or Pact.

30. It must be admitted that the Delhi Pact was not an end in itself. It was intended that such conditions would be created as might effectively help resolve so many disputes and conflicts existing between India and Pakistan. But during this period of six months after the Agreement, no dispute or conflict has readily been resolved. On the contrary, communal propaganda and anti-India propaganda by Pakistan both at

home and abroad are continuing in full swing. The observance of Kashmir Day by the Muslim League all over Pakistan is an eloquent proof of communal and Anti-India propaganda by Pakistan. The recent speech of the Governor of Punjab (Pak.) saying that Pakistan needed a strong army for the security of Indian Muslims has betrayed the real attitude of Pakistan towards India. It will only increase the tension between the two countries.

What is Happening in E. Bengal Today

31. What is today the condition in East Bengal? About fifty lakhs of Hindus have left since the partition of the country. Apart from the East Bengal riot of last February, the reasons for such a large scale exodus of Hindus are many. The boycott by the Muslims of Hindu lawyers, medical practitioners, shop keepers, traders and merchants has compelled Hindus to migrate to West Bengal in search of their means of livelihood. Wholesale requisition of Hindu houses even without following due process of law in many cases, and non-payment of any rent whatsoever to the owners have compelled them to seek for Indian shelter. Payments of rent to Hindu landlords was stopped long before. Besides, the Ansars against whom I received complaints all over are a standing menace to the safety and security of Hindus. Interference in matters educational and methods adopted by the Educational authority for Islamisation frightened the teaching staff of secondary schools and colleges out of their old familiar moorings. They have left East Bengal. As a result, most of the educational institutions have been closed. I have received informations that sometime ago the Educational authority issued a circular to Secondary Schools enjoining compulsory participation of teachers and students of all communities in recitations from the Holy Koran before the school work commenced. Another circular requires Headmasters of schools to name the different blocs of the school premises after 12 destinguished Muslims, such as, Jinnah, Iqbal, Liaquat Ali, Nazimuddin etc. Only very recently in an educational conference held at Dacca, the President disclosed that out of 1,500 High English schools in East Bengal only 500 were working. Owing to the migration of medical practitioners there is hardly any means of proper treatment of patients. Almost all the priests who used to worship the household deities at Hindu houses have left. Important places of worship have been almost abandoned. The result is that the Hindus of East Bengal have got now hardly any means to follow religious pursuits and perform social ceremonies like marriage where the services of a priest are essential. Artisans who made images of gods and goddesses have also left. Hindu Presidents of Union Boards have been replaced by Muslims

by coercive measures with the active help and connivance of the police and Circle Officers-Hindu headmasters and secretaries of schools have been replaced by Muslims. The life of the few Hindu Govt. servants has been made extremely miserable as many of them have either been superseded by junior Muslims or dismissed without sufficient or any cause. Only very recently a Hindu Public prosecutor of Chittagong was arbitrarily removed from service as has been made clear in a statement made by Srijukta Nellie Sen Gupta against whom at least no charge of anti-Muslim bias, prejudice or malice can be levelled.

Hindus virtually outlawed

32. Commission of thefts and dacoities even with murder is going on as merrily as before. Thana officers seldom record half the complaints made by Hindus. That the abduction and rape of Hindu girls has been reduced to a certain extent is due only to the fact that there is no caste Hindu girl between the ages of 12 and 30 living in East Bengal at present. The few depressed class girls who live in rural areas with their parents are not even spared by Muslim goondas. I have received information about a number of incidents of rape of scheduled castes girls by Muslims. Full payment is seldom made by Muslim buyers for the price of jute and other agricultural commodities sold by Hindus in market places. As a matter of fact, there is no operation of law, justice or fair-play in Pakistan, so far as Hindus are concerned.

Forced conversions in West Pakistan

33. Leaving aside the question of East Pakistan, let me now refer to West Pakistan, especially Sind. The West Punjab had, after partition, about a lakh of scheduled castes people. It may be noted that a large number of them were converted to Islam. Only 4 out of a dozen scheduled castes girls abducted by Muslims have yet been recovered in spite of repeated petitions to the Authority. Names of those girls with names of their abductors were supplied to the Government. The last reply recently given by the Officer-in-Charge of recovery of abducted girls said that "his function was not to recover Hindu & 'Achut' (scheduled cates) girls" The condition of the small number of Hindus that are still living in Sind and Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, is simply deplorable. I have got a list of 363 Hindu temples and gurudwaras of Karachi and Sind (which is by no means an exhaustive list) which are still in possession of Muslims. Some of the temples have been converted into cobbler's shops, slaughter houses and hotels. None of the Hindus has got back possession of their landed properties which were taken away from them without any notice and

distributed amongst refugees and local Muslims. I personally know that 200 to 300 Hindus were declared non-evacuees by the Custodian a pretty long time ago. But up till now properties have not been restored to any one of them. Even the possession of Karachi Panjra Pole has not been restored to the trustees, although it was declared non-evacuee property some time ago. In Karachi I had received petitions from many unfortunate fathers and husbands of abducted Hindu girls, mostly scheduled castes. I drew the attention of the Sind Provincial Government to this fact. There was little or no effect. To my extreme regret I received information that a large number of scheduled castes who are still living in Sind have been forcibly converted to Islam.

Pakistan 'accursed' for Hindus

34. Now this being in brief the overall picture of Pakistan so far as the Hindus are concerned, I shall not be unjustified in stating that Hindus of Pakistan have to all intents and purposes been rendered 'Stateless' in their own houses. They have no other fault than that they profess Hindu religion. Declarations are being repeatedly made by Muslim League leaders that Pakistan is and shall be an Islamic State. Islam is being offered as the sovereign remedy for all earthly evils. In the ruthless dialectics of capitalism and socialism you present the exhilarating democratic synthesis of Islamic equality and fraternity. In that grand setting of the Shariat Muslims alone are rulers while Hindus and other minorities are jimmies who are entitled to protection at a price, and you know more than anybody else, Mr. Prime Minister, what that price is. After anxious and prolonged thought I have come to the conclusion that Pakistan is no place for Hindus to live in and that their future is darkened by the ominous shadow of conversion or liquidation. The bulk of the upper class Hindus and politically conscious scheduled castes have left East Bengal. These Hindus who will continue to stay in the accursed province and for that matter in Pakistan will, I am afraid, by gradual stages and in a planned manner be either converted to Islam or completely exterminated. It is really amazing that a man of your education, culture and experience should be an exponent of a doctrine fraught with so great a danger to humanity and subversive of all principles of equity and good sense.

I may tell you and your fellow workers that Hindus will never allow themselves, whatever the threat or temptation, to be treated as Jimmies in the land of their birth. Today they may, as indeed many of them have already done, abandon their hearths and homes in sorrow but in panic. Tomorrow they will strive for their rightful place in the economy of life.

Who knows what is the womb of the future? When I am convinced that my continuance in office in the Pakistan Central Government is not of any help to Hindus I should not, with a clear conscience, create the false impression in the minds of the Hindus of Pakistan and peoples abroad that Hindus can live there with honour and with a sense of security in respect of their life, property and religion. This is about Hindus.

No Civil Liberty Even for Muslim

And what about the Muslims who are outside the charmed circle of the League rulers and their corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy? There is hardly anything called civil liberty in Pakistan. Witness for example, the fate of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan than whom a more devout Muslim had not walked this earth for many many years and of his gallant, patriotic brother Khan Sahib. A large number of erstwhile League leaders of the North-West and also of the Eastern belt of Pakistan are in detention without trial. Mr. Suhrawardy to whom is due in a larger measure the League's triumph in Bengal is for practical purposes a Pakstani prisoner who has to move under permit and open his lips under orders. Mr. Fazlul Huq, that once dearly loved Grand Old man of Bengal who was the author of that now famous Lahore resolution, is ploughing his lonely furrow in the precincts of the Dacca High Court of Judicature, and the so-called, Islamic planning is as ruthless as it is complete. About the East Bengal Muslims generally the less said the better. They were promised at Lahore an independent State. They were promised autonomous and sovereign units of that independent State? What have they got instead? East Bengal has been transformed into a colony of the western belt of Pakistan, although it contained a population which is larger than that of all the units of Pakistan put together. It is a pale ineffective adjunct of Karachi doing the latter's bidding and carrying out its orders. East Bengal Muslims in their enthusiasm wanted bread and they have by the mysterious working of the Islamic State and the Shariat got stone instead from arid deserts of Sind and the Punjab.

My own sad and bitter experience

Leaving aside the overall picture of Pakistan and the callous and cruel injustice done to others, my own personal experience is no less sad, bitter and revealing. You used your position as the Prime Minister and leader of the Parliamentary Party to ask me to issue a statement, which I did on the 8th September last. You know that I was not willing to make a statement containing untruths and half truths, which were worse than untruths. It was not possible for me to reject

your request so long as I was there working as a Minister with you and under your leadership. But I can no longer afford to carry this load of false pretentions and untruth on my conscience and I have decided to offer my resignation as your Minister, which I am hereby placing in your hands and which, I hope, you will accept without delay. You are of course at liberty to dispense with that office or dispose of it in such manner as may suit adequately and effectively the objectives of your Islamic State.

Yours sincerely.

J.N. Mandal

APPENDIX V

Letter of Trailokya Nath Chakraborti

March 19, 1964

At 11 o'clock on the night of January 15, 1964, I felt like a mere silent spectator.

I was staying with Swadesh Nag at his house on Hemendra Das Road, Dacca. A minorities conference fixed for January 11 and 12, for which all arrangements had been completed, had to be postponed under stress of circumstances. On the 14th, with a khaddar coat dhoti on, I was on my way to Hatkhola, Swadesh accompanying me, to get a statement published in various newspapers about the postponement of the conference, when a Muslim youth asked us not to proceed further as some one had been murdered in that area. We turned back. There was great tension in the city. My statement appeared next day in Azar, Ittefaq and Sangbad. It was also sent to Calcutta newspapers.

From the afternoon of the 15th, Hindus of the neighbouring area including women and children started sheltering at Swadesh's house and their number swelled to about 300. Though curfew had been imposed, a particular class of people were noisily loitering in the streets. We decided to stay on in the house. Swadesh was arranging for dal-bhat for everybody, As the night advanced the fear of danger mounted making every one restless. About midnight several Muslim friends advised Swadesh to leave the house. There was no other alternative.

Silent Spectator

I felt helpless as a mere silent spectator. What else could I do at the age of 75 and on top of it suffering from heart trouble, which is naturally aggravated by the slightest excitement or physical labour. In my youth as a member of the Anusilan Samity (one of the leading revolutionary parties of Bengal organised in the opening years of this century—Editor, H.S.), I used to feel confident of facing and resisting some 200 men with a sword, and 50 men with a lathi. But at 11 o'clock that night I could only sigh out: "Those days of mine are gone". Who will resist the attackers to defend oneself ?

with the activities of the people of the other community, do not quarrel with our neighbours, are citizens of this country, share its prosperity, sorrow or happiness, pay Government rent regularly, are loyal subjects; then why should we be killed, why our houses should be looted and burnt, our children killed before our very eyes, our womenfolk dishonoured?"

Is there no remedy against it? Are we responsible for what is happening in some other country? When innocent people are killed on railway trains, buses and steam-launches, why members of the other community merely look on like silent onlookers? Why do they not stop the wrong doers? Is not their inaction an indication of their tacit consent?

United Stand Needed

The Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Abdul Hamid Choudhuri, on hearing that I was marooned in the house on Hemendra Das Road, came in his car to rescue me but I had already left. This zamindar family, cultured and devoid of any communal spirit, has long been on very friendly terms with Hindus. Many of his employees are Hindus. When I met him he said to me that he had been feeling for sometime that if the Hindus left, the interests of the country and Muslims would suffer. Since some Muslims, he added, had come forward during the riots to protect Hindus, the time had come for Muslims and Hindus to make a united stand. And in order to achieve this, migration should be stopped. My reply was that the Hindus were ready to stay back, but where was the security of their life and property.

If communal riots occur 17 years after Independence, then who can guarantee that these will not occur in the future? Migration means immense suffering and even death for many Hindus, why then do they want to leave their hearth and home and property? Lack of security is perhaps the only reason.

Communalism is a social disease and implies lack of vision. The future of a country whose inhabitants think in terms of community, and not in terms of a nation, is indeed gloomy. Communalism will inhibit people from growing into a nation, and as a consequence the nation will be weak. One crore of minorities out of five crores is a big slice of a nation, which should be treated not lightly but seriously. Where there is patriotism, there is no room for communalism; the sentiment that it is my country, the people are my countrymen is predominant there.

Muslims' Self Sacrifice

Is not property worth crores of rupees, destroyed in the communal riots, national property? Such rioting only means

destroying national wealth and undermining national unity. Anarchy will rule supreme if one class of people, taking advantage of the helplessness of the other class, commit crimes with impunity. And anarchy will not spare even the majority community. The minorities do not aspire after much; they want only assurance of security, they want that culprits be punished, they want, finally and above all, the sympathy of the majority community.

Fortunately, during the present killings some Muslims came forward, risking their own lives, to save Hindus, suffered injuries and even sacrificed their lives in doing so. Their number is not negligible. Hindus here remember with gratitude Amir Hussain Choudhuri and others who have either been killed or injured for their sake.